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DEDICATED
TO THE INHABITANTS
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
IN ARMS,
TO DEFEND THEIR OWN,
AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE,
AGAINST THE MAD DESIGNS
OF THE UNPRINCIPLED USURPER,
AND THE AMBITIOUS TYRANT
OF FRANCE.

AN
EXCURSION
IN
F R A N C E,
AND OTHER PARTS OF
THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE;
FROM
THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN 1801,
TO THE 13TH OF DECEMBER 1803.

INCLUDING
A NARRATIVE OF THE UNPRECEDENTED DETENTION
OF THE ENGLISH TRAVELLERS IN THAT COUNTRY,
AS PRISONERS OF WAR.

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/
By CHARLES MACLEAN, M.D.



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P R E F A C E.

IN the following pages, the reader will not find a regular description of the cities, towns, or countries, through which I have passed, or of the manners and customs of their inhabitants; neither will he find a *critique* on paintings and buildings, nor a history of the present state of the arts and sciences. These, particularly as they respect France, have been so repeatedly laid before the public, so repeatedly panegyrised or censured, that scarcely any thing new or interesting remains now to be added on the subject.

The purpose of this narrative, for which I do not pretend to claim the rank of tra-

vels, is to communicate unconnected *traits* of public character and proceedings, which have come, in some cases exclusively, under my own observation ; so as to increase the means by which those of my countrymen, who have not visited France, may be enabled to form a judgment of the difference between the English and French people, and between the English and French governments. It includes an account of the detention, as prisoners, in direct violation of the laws of nations and of the rights of hospitality, of all the English travellers, who were in France, or its dependencies, at the breaking out of the war ; together with a detail of the manner in which, as one of the persons so circumstanced, I obtained permission to quit France, and some particulars of my journey from Paris to England, through Bordeaux.

The preface to a book, although usually the first part that is read, is generally the
last

last part that is written. In reviewing the manner in which the following narrative is composed, I confess I am not by any means satisfied with the execution. From the danger that would have attended my keeping notes since the commencement of the war, it may naturally be expected that the details should be, in some cases, inaccurate; and, from the celerity with which a work of such temporary interest must be prepared for publication, that the arrangement should be, in many respects, imperfect: yet, it is evident that, from the peculiarity of the circumstances under which I was placed, an account of them must necessarily comprehend something that is at least new. But if I were not also persuaded that, notwithstanding the disadvantages just mentioned, the narrative would be found, in other respects, not unworthy the attention of the reader, it should not have been submitted to his perusal.

At first it appeared, for two reasons, dubious whether such a narrative ought to be published. Having been liberated by the French government, after having been, like others, unjustly detained a prisoner of war, could my appearing as their enemy be fairly construed into ingratitude? or could the publication operate against the English, who are still in France?

The first question I did not hesitate to resolve in the negative, because it is evident that no gratitude can be due for merely ceasing to do an injustice; and the second, because, after the most mature deliberation, I was unable to perceive how the publication of this narrative could affect, in an unfavourable manner, any of the English, who are still in France. The French government, it is clear, may, if they are so inclined, subject them to closer confinement, without waiting for any new pretexts. But they will, for their own sakes, take care
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how far they proceed in severity, sensible as they must be that it is in our power to make a ten-fold retaliation.

Even in the utmost bitterness of political hostility, the ancient government of France would never have condescended to have had recourse to a measure so openly unprincipled as that of which I have just spoken. Notwithstanding the numerous abuses of that government, it appears probable that a revolution might have been prevented, had the king possessed more money and less feeling; it is certain that it might have been prevented had he been as little scrupulous as the present usurper of his throne, or any of those who have been elevated to dignities in that country since his death. Had the rich and powerful part of the nation come forward in time with offers of an effective support, they might have saved him, the people, and themselves. Had a body of volunteers, composed of loyal, patriotic,
and

and affluent members, such as at this moment grace our impregnable island, stepped forth in France to stem the torrent of popular phrenzy, and the irruptions of foreign troops, the scenes of desolation, convulsion, and death, which have since agitated Europe, might have been averted. It is a sad effect of short-sighted selfishness by which men will run the risk of losing every thing that is dear to them as members of civilised society, rather than insure their ultimate safety, by making a timeous offering of their persons and their fortunes to the necessities of the state. The only use which can now be made of this sad retrospect is as a warning to the other nations of the world. It should operate as an example to deter all the honest part of the people from countenancing or encouraging revolutions, and to excite the rich to make every possible sacrifice of their purse and their persons, rather than by supineness to incur the risk of so imminent a danger. In this country, the
threatening

threatening attitude of France will for the moment produce in the fullest manner this desirable effect. But some grand and decisive measures are necessary, in order to insure to this nation permanent beneficial consequences, and to the independence of Europe final triumph.

ERRATA.

Page 33, line 5, for *en France* read *à une Française* ; and in the note, for *in France*, read *to a French woman*.

Page 105, line 11, for *prison* read *prisons*.

Page 138, 2d line from the bottom, for *which they pretend*, read *to which they pretend*.

Page 160 and 161. From a confusion in the manuscript the whole of the article respecting the expence of travelling between London and Edinburgh, and between Paris and Bordeaux, has been erroneously printed. The distance is nearly the same, about 400 miles. The price of a seat, however, is as 10 to 3. If we suppose money to be double the value in France that it is in England, the proportion, other things being equal, ought to be only as six to three. But allowing for difference of time, which is not quite one to three, and the difference of expence which that must occasion on the road, travelling is upon the whole cheaper, independent of superior comforts, between London and Edinburgh than it is between Paris and Bordeaux ; which is the cheapest road in France.

AN EXCURSION,

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PRELIMINARY MATTER.

IT had long been my favourite wish to have an opportunity of proving by experiment, what I had previously learnt from an induction of reasoning, that maladies, usually called epidemic and pestilential, are not, in their nature, contagious, and that, under a due application of scientific principles, they easily admit of a cure. To undertake, as a simple individual, an investigation of this magnitude, I knew to be a very arduous task. But my zeal overcame my judgment; and I determined, in September 1800, to accompany Mr. Windham, then British Envoy at the court of Tus-

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cany,

cany, to Florence; with a view to embrace the first opportunity of passing from thence to the Levant, in order to put my doctrines to the test of experiment in the plague; a project in which that gentleman promised to aid me as much as should lay in his power. But on our arrival at Vienna, we learnt that the French troops had entered Tuscany, which of course, for that time, frustrated my plan of going to Italy.

PROPOSITION TO THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR AT VIENNA.

At this period a terrible epidemic reigned at Cadiz. Wishing to procure permission to proceed to that city, I presented, with the knowledge and consent of Lord Minto, then British Ambassador at Vienna, a short memorial to Don Alanza (I think) the Spanish Ambassador at that court, to the following purport: " Dr. Charles Maclean has the honour to state to his Excellency the Spanish Ambassador, that, as his Excellency
will

will see by a publication already handed to him, having considered the subject of epidemic and pestilential diseases in a point of view entirely new, both in regard to their cause and to their cure*, he confidently trusts that, without arrogating to himself any degree of superiority over other gentlemen of the medical profession, he will be able, upon his plan, to treat these diseases with more than ordinary success. And, considering that a state of political hostility † ought not to interfere with matters of science, or the relations of humanity, he takes the liberty of proposing to his Excellency the Spanish Ambassador to permit him to proceed to Cadiz, there to expose himself to every risk of what is called contagion, in endeavouring to cure persons ill of the epidemic at present raging in that city; for which purpose he requests his Excellency

* I did not then know that Dr. Stole of Vienna had entertained a similar opinion respecting the non-contagious nature of the plague.

† We were then at war with Spain.

would have the goodness to furnish him with the necessary passports."

His Excellency received me politely; but said he could not grant me a passport to go to Cadiz, without first writing for permission to his court. Upon this I observed that, as before he could receive an answer from Madrid, and I could repair to Cadiz in consequence of that answer, should it prove favourable, the epidemic, *not being contagious*, but arising from causes connected with the state of the atmosphere, would cease. This, I predicted, would happen in January, which was accordingly the case.

MEMORIAL ON THE SAME SUBJECT TO
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Disappointed in these objects, I returned from Vienna to Hamburg, at that time one of the most flourishing commercial cities in the world. From thence, having always the same object in view, I wrote the following

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ing memorial to his Grace the Duke of Portland, as one of his Majesty's ministers, and inclosed it to Lord William Bentinck, with whom I had the pleasure of being acquainted, and who was then in London, to be presented by him to his father.

MY LORD,

“ I have long made the subject of epidemic and pestilential diseases my particular study, and, as is fully explained in my publication, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, drawn conclusions, respecting both the cause and the cure of these diseases, widely different from those hitherto commonly received. I have endeavoured to prove that plague itself is not contagious, and that it probably admits of an easy cure.

“ To expatiate on the terrible fatality of the epidemic diseases which, particularly of late years, have ravaged the West India Islands, depopulated the cities of America, laid Cadiz waste, and almost annually afflict

many parts of the Turkish dominions, would here be superfluous. I may, however, be allowed to observe that this fatality, if the theory above alluded to be at all true, must have principally arisen from an ignorance of their cause and of their cure.

“ It must, then, be obvious of what importance a well conducted practical investigation of these diseases would be to the interests of a very considerable proportion of the human species. But how inadequate to the execution of such a task are the resources of an unaccredited individual ! And how worthy is the object of the attention, and encouragement of enlightened governments !

“ From these considerations, and because the confined circle of a stationary medical practice is not likely to afford opportunities of submitting my theories to the test of experiment, so that, if true, they may become useful to the public, I am desirous of obtaining

taining a *special commission*, for the purpose of employing myself exclusively in the practical investigation of these diseases.

“ As duty requires that I should offer my services, in this line, preferably to the government of which I am a subject ; and as the possession of Egypt may soon afford the opportunity of a practical investigation, I take the liberty of addressing your grace upon the subject, in the hope that, in my peculiar case, such an application will not be deemed altogether impertinent. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

“ *Hamburg, 3d May 1801.*”

The purport of the answer I received from Lord William Bentinck was, as nearly as I can recollect, for I have not his letter now by me, that the nature of the arrangements made for Egypt did not admit of any new medical appointments, &c. Knowing the difficulty of procuring a *special appointment*, such as I now applied for, without consider-

able influence, and considering the small degree of interest which I had with the government, I was neither surprised nor disappointed at the failure of success. Content with having done what I conceived to be my duty, I determined patiently to await some more favourable opportunity of carrying my plan into execution.

DEPARTURE FROM HAMBURG.

This opportunity I *then* thought would most certainly occur in France, where scientific projects, not much more profound than mine, were so splendidly encouraged and patronised, *at least in the journals*. Accordingly it was not without some degree of impatience that I remained at Hamburg, in the practice of my profession, till the signing of preliminary articles of peace, between Great Britain and France, gave me an opportunity of visiting, with propriety, the revolutionary theatre, on which so many astonishing, so many great, and so many atrocious

atrocious actions, had so recently been performed.

I left Hamburg, not without regret at parting with many worthy friends and acquaintances in that city, in November 1801, with a passport from the Dutch *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Reinholdt, authorising me to pass through Holland; Sir James Craufurd, then British Minister for the circle of Lower Saxony, thinking it inconsistent with his duty to grant me a passport to go to France.

The sensations of travellers, whether they stop at dirty inns, are jolted over bad roads, over-set by the carelessness of Postillions, or detained for hours, as frequently happens in Germany, in changing horses at a Posthouse, are so nearly the same that to describe mine, on this occasion, would be only to give a repetition of what the reader must no doubt have frequently read, or suffered. If he be of a sentimental turn, I would advise him not to travel from Ham-
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burg to Amsterdam in the month of November.

ARRIVAL AT AMSTERDAM; STATE OF HOLLAND.

Having been supplied with letters of recommendation to several respectable houses at Amsterdam, I passed eight days very agreeably in that city. Those from Mr. John Schuback junior, and Mr. George Thompson, of Hamburg, two as worthy men as I ever knew, and to whom I am under many obligations, were of particular service to me. At this period, Holland was, in many places, overflowed with water; but travelling was not thereby rendered uncomfortable. The beauty of the towns, and the industry of the people have frequently been the subject of panegyric; and perhaps they have never been too highly extolled. There are many admirable subjects of contemplation in Holland. The paintings in the town house, representing the noble exploits

ploits of the Dutch patriots, who rescued their country from the yoke of Spanish tyranny, are well calculated to elevate the soul, and to perpetuate sentiments of independence: I have sometimes wondered that these monuments of true grandeur have not been carried off, or destroyed, by the despotic rulers of France, lest they should injure their cause, by occasionally reminding the Dutch people that they *have* rights and *had* liberty. These unfortunate people are, ere this, no doubt well convinced of the little difference there is between a *Spanish* and a *Corfican* tyrant; and the day may even not be far distant when they will be roused to imitate the example of their illustrious ancestors.

To behold their dock-yards, formerly so flourishing, almost empty; the few ships they had remaining, of a once numerous navy, dismantled; their commerce, heretofore the envy of the world, scarcely beginning to revive; their industry, credit, and confidence, once proverbial among nations,

almost

almost annihilated; to behold, I say, these sad effects of their unhappy connection with France, brought very melancholy reflections to my mind. Ill-fated people! while you remain under the dominion of France, England must be your enemy. How dismal is the prospect before you! to be pillaged and oppressed on one side, plundered and beaten on the other. If his Majesty of Prussia had been gifted with true grandeur of soul, what crimes might he not have prevented!

THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

I do not hope the King of Prussia will be punished for the duplicity, or rather the imbecility, of his conduct, since the commencement of the French revolution. But this I affirm, that if the Corsican found it suitable to his views, he would no more hesitate to seize, and mortgage the city of Berlin, than he has to seize and mortgage the Electorate of Hanover; and that not a man in Europe, let his situation or rank in
life

life be what it may, would deserve less commiseration, for the loss of property or of power, than the King of Prussia.

ROTTERDAM.

Commercial activity had here begun to become more apparent than at Amsterdam. Several English merchants, who left the place during the war, had returned to recommence business. Among these was Mr. G. Crawford, from whom I received much civility during my stay. I never saw a town in which the inns are more wretched than in this. It was with difficulty we could get decent accommodations, or tolerable attendance. The least bad was at an English house, of which the landlord is a true Bonnyface. Good Taverns are, perhaps, rendered less necessary by the hospitality of the inhabitants.

ANTWERP.

ANTWERP. REFLECTIONS ON EMIGRATION.

From Rotterdam, I proceeded, by the usual route, to Antwerp. The roads were generally very bad and deep, and we met with more than usual imposition. At Antwerp several commercial houses of London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, &c. had formed establishments, of which I am persuaded that all of them have, by this time, had ample reason to repent. Indeed I knew, from subsequent experience, that scarcely an Englishman, who has settled in any line in France since the late peace, but has abandoned it and returned to his country, after having been scandalously plundered or deceived, with perhaps the exception of a very few, for whom particular circumstances might have rendered it impossible with safety to return. I was acquainted with a Frenchman, who came to visit his native country, after having resided for many years in America. He declared to

me that he could not believe his countrymen to be the same people, among whom he had formerly lived ; and that no consideration upon earth could prevail upon him to settle in France *.

Another Frenchman, under similar circumstances, had bought an estate in the vicinity of one of the seaport towns ; but lately resold it, in order to return to America, such was his disgust for the increasing immorality of his countrymen †. In saying this, I hope not to be misunderstood, as giving a preference to America over Great Britain. No ! after having travelled over a considerable portion of the globe, I solemnly declare that I believe Great Britain to be the very first spot upon earth for an honest man to reside in ; and that the poor deluded people, who emigrate from any part

* The reason must be obvious to every one, why it would be improper to mention this person's name.

† How, indeed, can men, familiarised with ideas of devastation and plunder, retain ideas of morality ?

of the united kingdom, to seek a better lot in America, are highly deserving of commiseration.

While upon this subject, I would recommend to those, who have the *mania* of emigrating to America, to peruse General Lee's last letter to his sister, published in the memoirs of his life. It is worthy of their most serious attention ; the more especially as great industry and misrepresentation are practised by American speculators in land, to induce people to emigrate, from every part of Europe, to that country.

JOURNEY FROM ANTWERP TO PARIS, THROUGH BRUSSELS.

At Antwerp, I met with some difficulty about my passport, from its not having been signed by the French Ambassador at the Hague. But this was removed by a Dutch merchant, resident in the place, becoming security for me to the Mayor. Thus far I travelled post ; but having here parted with
a fel-

a fellow-traveller who was returning, by Calais, to England, I took places for myself and servant in the diligence to Brussels. Before we entered the town, our passports were examined. The officer, who performed this ceremony, observing one person more than the passports enumerated, enquired who he was. I told him, he was my servant. " You did very wrong, Sir, " not to have got his name inserted in the " passport." It was not my fault, I replied ; I reported him at the Mayor's Office at Antwerp, and they there informed me it was unnecessary to mention him in the passport. " I must repeat, Sir, that you have " done very wrong : how should I know " that he, whom you are harbouring as " your servant, may not be a returned emigrant ? " Look in his face, and if you suspect him to be an emigrant, take him. Looking in his face, which was certainly one of the most distant, both in figure and complexion, from a French one that can possibly be imagined (the lad was a broad

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faced,

faced, ruddy cheeked native of Sweden), smiled, and said we might proceed. We met with no farther interruption respecting passports, and arrived in Paris on the 10th of December in the evening.

PARIS.

There were but few English in town, and these principally officers returning from Egypt. The morning after my arrival, I called upon a French merchant who had travelled with me from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, and who had given me his address in Paris, with many professions of regard, which I placed entirely to the account of the usual urbanity of the nation. He immediately procured me lodgings, which were elegant indeed, but rather high rented. This want of consideration I willingly imputed to his wish to do me honour as a stranger. He invited me to his house, and made frequent parties of *Buillotte* * in the

* A fashionable game at cards at Paris, which affords considerable latitude to the dexterity of the players.

evenings,

evenings, at which I was only asked to sit down now and then in my turn, and regularly lost my few crowns of a night, without repining. The next step was the formation of parties to the theatre. An officer of the army who had just got a new appointment, and was about to leave town on an embassy, I perceived was the friend of the family ; and I was seemingly looked to as the heir apparent to the succession. My host, I thought, shewed much good-natured curiosity to ascertain whether my property in England was vested in lands, or in the funds ; for he concluded, from seeing me travel with a servant, that I was a man of fortune : and my hostess, probably upon the same presumption, evinced the most amiable disposition to instruct me in all the niceties of French manners.

After a fortnight, I found it necessary to put an end to their delusion, to drop the acquaintance, and to look out for lodgings on a more moderate scale.

MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

After looking round me, for a few months, in the metropolis, I began to consider of the best means of carrying my project into execution, respecting the investigation of the plague. In March 1802, I had a memorial on this subject presented to the Minister of the Interior, which he referred to the College of Physicians of Paris (*L'Ecole de Medecine de Paris*), desiring them to make him a report respecting its contents. Upon receiving that report, he wrote me a very polite letter, saying that my plan had been found of too extensive a nature to be carried into execution, and praising highly my zeal in the cause of humanity.

By the time I was four months acquainted with the politics of Paris, I certainly could have had no good reason to expect any other result. I could have had

no good reason to expect that, “abstracted from all subordinate considerations of party, cabal or intrigue, the project, which I had the honour to present, *being fully understood*, should meet with a reception measured solely by its intrinsic merit *.”

Aware how little this is the case in most governments, but more especially in that of France, I had the memorial presented to Citizen Chaptal, through the medium of Senator Perregaux, to whom I submitted a copy of it for perusal. He returned it to me with the following polite note: “Mr. Perregaux presents his best compliments to Mr. Maclean, and returns him the manuscript he left him to read. He has perused it with that satisfaction, which is called forth by benevolence and humanity, and sincerely wishes his views may be put in practice. But he does not think his plan can be of so much interest to this country,

* Words of the Memorial.

as to those that have great commercial connexions with the Levant.

“ *Paris, 8th April 1802.*”

With this opinion of Mr. Perregaux, considering the project in a view of commercial interest, I entirely coincide. But considering it with a view to the advancement of science, it is equally the interest of all nations that it should be carried into execution. The plan was simply this: “ To establish an institution at Constantinople, or some other part of the Levant, for the treatment and investigation of the plague: that the funds necessary for this institution should be provided by means of voluntary subscriptions of governments and of individuals: that it should be under the superintendence of all the foreign ambassadors at Constantinople for the time being, and of one of the members of the Ottoman government: that the Sublime Port should be invited to allot a certain district of land for the establishment of the necessary buildings, &c. ; and to confer on it certain privileges

privileges and immunities, such as could be accorded without offence to any of the laws or customs of the country," &c.

This outline will be sufficient to give a general idea of the plan I had proposed, which, it must be confessed, does not, in its nature, appear to possess any very extraordinary degree of complexity or extent. But as circumstances subsequently turned out, I am rather pleased, in as far as I might have myself been concerned in carrying it into execution, that it was not adopted.

OBJECT OF THE PROPOSAL TO FORM AN ESTABLISHMENT AT CONSTAN- TINOPLE.

The proposal to form such an establishment as is here described, had a double object.

1st, To prove, by the application of principles to practice, that medicine is a science, and not a conjectural art.

2dly, To shew that plague is not contagious, but depends on the states and vicissitudes of the atmosphere; and that it is easily capable of being cured.

Formerly the philanthropic Howard, and latterly many individuals have attempted to make experiments on the plague. But it appears to me that all investigators, who have not the means of cure in their power, or set out with pre-conceived notions of contagion, must necessarily continue to grope in the dark. Praise indeed is always due to zeal in a good cause: but zeal is truly useful only when it is well directed.

Here I dismiss the subject for the present, perhaps indeed for ever. As an individual, it is not very probable that I shall ever possess a sum of power or of influence, sufficient to vanquish the prejudices, and obstacles of every kind, which so extensive an investigation would have to encounter. But should any government, or governments,
or

or any powerful body of men, do themselves the honour of patronizing, in an efficient manner, so noble and useful an enquiry, I shall always be ready to risk my life and reputation in giving practical proof of the doctrines, which I have advanced on these subjects.

STATE OF MEDICINE IN FRANCE.

From the moment, my plan was consigned to the College of Physicians, I regarded the project as hopeless, and for a while turned my views to speculations of private practice. But it was impossible not to feel that medicine is in a more degraded state in France, both as an art and a profession, than in any other civilized country of Europe. Operative surgery, indeed, is carried to a considerable degree of excellence. But the knowledge of rendering operations unnecessary is of infinitely more importance than a dexterity in performing them.

While

While in Germany medicine, if it does not make rapid progress toward perfection as a science, is at least acknowledged to be such; the publications, which have, of late years, appeared in France on the subject, would scarcely do credit even to the fifteenth century. Did I know of a single exception to this remark; did I know of any one publication, in which principles are established, or attempted to be established, it would give me much pleasure to mention it; and I should be very happy that, for the sake of science, my assertion could be proved to be wholly unfounded.

As a profession, medicine in France is, if possible, less lucrative, than it is respectable as an art. The ordinary fee from tradesmen is half a crown a visit; but the patient, in the end, generally pays in number, what is deficient in the amount of fees. This is so common a practice that a physician, who does not make his patient more visits than his situation strictly requires, runs
a great

a great risk of being looked upon as a fool. I remember having been called to a consultation on the case of an English young lady at the *Hotel D'Angleterre, Rue Fille St. Thomas*, along with a French physician, who had previously prescribed for her. After a few visits, the lady's fever was removed, and I told the father that, as there was no longer occasion for the attendance of two physicians, I should not come any more. Upon mentioning my opinion to the French physician, he said in a tone of mild remonstrance: *mais venez toujours, mon chere confrere; c'est un bon enfant, il pays bien*. Continue to come, my dear colleague; he is a good fellow; he can pay well.

MISS D——.

Before I dismiss the subject of medicine, I will relate another professional anecdote, on account of the characteristic traits it contains of French manners. A maiden lady from Ireland, about sixty years of age, had

had retired to France, in order to live frugally, and to save money for a numerous generation of nephews and nieces. But she carried her frugality so far as to deny herself almost all the comforts, and even some of the necessaries of life; by which means she became emaciated, her stomach very feeble, and her whole frame nervous to an alarming degree. As if this was not enough, she fell into the habit of taking periodical emetics. A friend of her's endeavoured repeatedly to prevail upon her to call in medical assistance; but in vain. At last, however, she became so dangerously ill that she consented to send for me. I called late in the evening, found her feeble and emaciated, but her pulse good and her understanding clear. Her complaint seemed to be the effect of long continued deprivations.

Not choosing, from so slight an examination, to form a decisive opinion respecting the nature of her malady, nor to adopt any systematic mode of treatment, I only prescribed

scribed some inefficacious remedy in order to satisfy her mind, and after recommending to have a nurse to sit up with her, promised to call again in the morning. When I returned in the morning, I found that she did not permit any person to sit up with her, but, after I left her, got out of bed and bolted her door. The people of the house had knocked repeatedly, but could get no admission, nor any answer. I was equally unsuccessful. But being informed that she had a habit of locking her door, and not answering those who knocked at it, unless they were her particular friends, I thought it best to go in search of a lady with whom she was intimate, and who lived in the neighbourhood, before I should proceed to have the door opened by force.

I found the lady: she came, knocked and called repeatedly, but to no purpose. We concluded that she was dead; sent for the landlord, and requested that, if it was according to law, he would order a locksmith

smith to come and pick the lock. He did so ; and we found, as we expected, that she was dead. What was now to be done ? The police officer, the justice of the peace, (*juge de paix*,) and the surgeon (*officier de santé*) of the district were to be called. They arrived. The surgeon examined the body, the police officer wrote a *procès-verbal*, or declaration, of the proceedings, and the justice of the peace took an inventory of the wardrobe and other effects of the deceased ; which he locked up under the national seal, with the exception of 40*l.* or 50*l.* of cash that was found in her writing-desk, and which he took possession of, in order to answer the expences of the funeral, and to pay any debts she might have contracted. The property so locked up remains under seal, until it is claimed by the nearest of kin, or the person in whose favour a will may have been made by the deceased ; and, in the event of its not being claimed within the space of twelve months, it goes to the nation.

The deceased lay with her head on the pillow, her right arm reclined over her breast, and as little disfigured as if she had been ⁱⁿ dying a profound sleep. Notwithstanding this placid appearance, the French *officier de santé* reported a great variety of symptoms, indicating violent death, such as foaming at the mouth, livid colour of the countenance, a swelling of the stomach, and an attitude indicating the pre-existence of strong convulsive efforts, &c. Here I could not help interrupting my colleague, and telling him I could perceive none of the phenomena he had been describing. “*Ce n’est rien,*” said he, “*C’est seulement une formalité.*” (It is nothing but a form.) At the same time one of the bystanders whispered in my ear: “don’t you know that he receives 5 or 6 louis d’ors for opening the body?”—The friend of the deceased was quite scandalised at the idea of the body being opened, and wished me to oppose it. But upon representing that, as I had prescribed for her the night before,

fore,

fore, if I objected to the body being opened, the man who would lose his fee, if my vote prevailed, might choose to represent me as a poisoner, (assertions in which I was not ignorant that members of the faculty were sometimes capable of indulging) I would not, for the sake of saving 5l. or 6l. to the relations of the deceased, whom I did not know, incur so formidable a censure, she acquiesced.

The following morning was appointed for the dissection. That operation was accordingly performed ; and as it was not necessary for my colleague to find any symptoms of violent death *internally*, none were found. It was right, however, that he should assign the *cause* of her death. This he readily discovered in the internal coat of the stomach, and in the mesenteric glands. But what most pleased and surprised the spectators was to find that the lady, although about sixty years of age, was yet a virgin. *Mon Dieu ! est il possible* * ? exclaimed the

* Good God ! is it possible ?

officier de santé and his assistants. *Ab! mon Dieu! mon Dieu! mon Dieu!* exclaimed the landlady, who was present the whole time, *c'est incroyable; une telle chose n'auroit pu arriver en France* *. She danced about the room in a kind of extacy, as the mathematician of old is reported to have done, upon his having accidentally discovered the solution of an important problem, while bathing.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACTUAL STATE OF FRANCE, AND CONJECTURES ON PROBABLE CHANGES.

From a mild monarchy, limited by certain constitutional forms, France, under the influence of a dreadful fanaticism, passed to a state of anarchy falsely denominated republicanism, and from that, by a natural transition, to a destructive and odious mili-

* Oh! my God! my God! my God! it's incredible: such a thing could not have happened in France.

tary despotism. All Frenchmen, even the most violent partisans of the revolution, are obliged to confess that there is, at this moment, less liberty, less justice, less equality and fraternity, excepting as it is written on the walls of their public buildings, heavier taxation, and consequently less general happiness in France, than existed under the monarchy. To what purpose, then, was this terrible convulsion, which destroyed, with indiscriminating fury, every ancient landmark? In the physical world, a thunder storm, if it sometimes produces calamitous effects, at least purifies the atmosphere, and renders it more fit for respiration. But the atmosphere of France, after the purifications of the revolutionary storm, if we may judge from facts, seems only fit for the respiration of idolaters and slaves.

If the executive directory had been, what they pretended to be, republicans; or if they had been, what is still better, honest men,

men, discharging faithfully the trust reposed in them by the people, they would have arrested Bonaparte, on his arrival from Egypt, and treated him as a deserter from his army. But Moulin was the only man among them who, on that occasion, had the spirit or the honesty to attempt to do his duty. The failure of his attempt has unfortunately prolonged the agonies and calamities of the world. I have adduced this fact on account of the instructive lessons, which it affords. It shews that it is impossible to impose republicanism on a people, who have not previously sentiments of liberty in their minds ; and that the attempt is both foolish and criminal. It shews that a people, who are not familiar with those noble sentiments, must always have an idol of the day, to whom they bow down and sing Hosannahs. In England, where happily sentiments of liberty grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength, no such idolatry can exist. Even the person of the

sovereign is regarded as sacred, only in as far as he forms a branch of our venerable constitution. What individual in this country dare to relinquish his command, without leave, or to put himself above the laws? Is there any man in it upon whom the public think the safety of the state exclusively depends? Not one! I therefore say that, in my opinion, the people of this country, having the true sentiments of liberty deeply engrafted on their minds, of which the fact I have stated is a proof, are, without exception, the freest people in the universe. I say without exception, because in America Washington was an idol of the day, upon whom individually it was thought by many the safety of the state depended; and in Helvetia, the same thing happened with respect to Aloys Reding.

But to return to France, its government forms, at this moment, the most odious military despotism that has ever existed in the world.

world. It is clear, however, that this state of things cannot long continue to exist. The tyrant must either succeed in his projects against England, and consequently in destroying the independence of Europe, and afterwards the liberties of the Western world ; that is, he must succeed in establishing an universal despotism ; or he must be defeated by England, and, if he does not die in the field of battle, fall a sacrifice to the just resentment of the people, whom he has duped, dishonoured and enslaved.

The former I cannot for a moment suppose possible ; the latter is, therefore, what I regard as inevitable. The tyrant being destroyed, what would be the probable fate of unfortunate France ? Would it revert to a monarchy, or to a popular representation ? Or would the present ridiculous constitution, with a new First Consul, be preserved ? This is what no man can, perhaps, with any degree of certainty, pronounce. We may

be allowed, however, to indulge in a few conjectures.

In January 1803, in a conference between the Swiss deputies and Bonaparte, Ræderer made this remark: "between men of sense," said he to one of the deputies, "it ought not to be made a mystery that France, so long accustomed to monarchical forms, is in effect again become a monarchy." To this observation I do not by any means assent, conceiving as I do that there is a wide difference between a complete despotism, such as exists in the person of Bonaparte, and a monarchy, such as formerly existed in France. The ancients made a proper distinction between *kings* and *tyrants*. They speak with respect of the constitutional kings of Sparta, but with indignation of the tyrant of Syracuse. With due deference to *citizen* Ræderer (if I may so prostitute an appellation which in a real republic would be respectable) I assert that, whatever it may be hereafter, France is not certainly,
at

at this moment, either in form, or in effect, a monarchy.

Conversing with a most ingenious man in Paris, upon the probable changes that would happen in that country, on the fall of the tyrant (a twelvemonth ago the political calculators of that city did not allow him more than two years to reign), he made this remark: "the elements of monarchy are destroyed, and those of republicanism do not exist." There is much weighty truth in this observation.—The nobility, as a body, the clergy as a body, the parliaments as bodies; in short all the elements, which composed the ancient monarchy, have been destroyed; and it would, no doubt, although it may even be the general wish of the people, be very difficult to recompose them. This difficulty would arise, in the first place, from the fears of all those, who took an active part in the revolution, and who now hold places under the government, that in the event of a counter-revolution, they

would be persecuted ; and, in the next place, from the apprehensions of those, who have become holders of national property, that, in such a case, they would lose the wealth they have acquired. With respect to opposition on the score of principle, I apprehend it would be so trifling that it is not worthy of being brought into the calculation. It remains to be ascertained whether the wisdom, the moderation and the means of the parties to be reinstated, are adequate to overcome the difficulties arising from these causes. It is a problem, which I will not pretend to solve.

That the elements of republicanism do not exist in France, I am certain, because of all the people I have seen and conversed with in that country, there are very few indeed, who have sentiments of liberty deeply rooted in their minds ; and because I have observed that those, who, during the reign of the mob, made the greatest pretensions to these sentiments, are now
become

become the most devoted instruments of the tyrant. At the same time that the elements of republicanism are wanting, it is likely that the interests of those who have participated in the revolution, or become acquirers of national property, as well as their safety, may induce them, on the fall of the tyrant, to attempt the re-establishment of a popular form of government. Whether the activity and means of this party would be superior to those of the party wishing the re-establishment of monarchy, is a question which the event alone can decide.

That the consular form of government, will not survive its founder, I have much less hesitation in concluding : because, being established upon no principle, it rests entirely on the person of the tyrant as its basis : and from the instability of the French character, so habitually prone to change.

One thing is certain, that whatever change takes place, it cannot prove more unfavourable to the happiness of France, or the independence of Europe.

In contemplating the affairs of that country, it would seem that there was scarcely a public in existence, and that every thing valuable appertaining to the nation was comprehended in the person and family of the First Consul. We shall therefore give precedence to a short sketch of the consular family.

BO PARTE, HIS CHARACTER AND VIEWS.

Mental and corporeal inebriation observe a similar progress, and depend equally upon the operation of external powers. The one is not more certainly produced by the application of wine, than the other by the application of flattery.

Bonaparte,

Bonaparte, arriving at years of maturity, with a mind unusually penetrating, vigorous and decisive, and at a most extraordinary period in the history of the world, was naturally led forward to projects of ambition. Having obtained the command of an army, by means which in some countries would be reckoned disgraceful, he had in that station an opportunity of giving full scope to the energies of his extraordinary faculties. He commanded victory, because he employed the sure means of commanding it, the sacrifice of as many men as was necessary to gain his object. His fame once established, fewer physical means sufficed to produce equal effects. But at St. Jean D'Acre, where he could not apply this principle, from being necessarily limited to a certain quantity of force, he was for that very reason defeated.

Possessing in the highest degree many of the most brilliant qualities of a great general, a facility of repairing defeat, celerity and
pre-

presence of mind in danger, his understanding however could not withstand the influence of the success which it commanded. The torrent of praise, flattery and adulation, which has constantly poured in upon him, since his first victories in Italy, was irresistible. But it was not until the consulate for life, and all its dreadful chain of consequences, that his mind has been wholly overthrown. The poison since that period daily administered, through the columns of the *Moniteur*, by the servile crew, calling themselves the constituted authorities of France, but in reality the valets of the First Consul, was too potent not to undermine an intellect merely human: and Bonaparte at this moment stands a miserable and unhappy monument of mental intoxication.

In thus attributing Bonaparte's delirium to external causes, I shall not be suspected of becoming his apologist. I know that the effects of insanity are the same, from whatever cause it may spring. I know that
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if there were no slaves there would be no tyrants ; if there were no idolaters there would be no idols :—and that when flatterers, slaves, and idolaters, unite in any quarter of the globe to form a mad, tyrannical idol, all the rest of the world should unite to prevent its doing mischief.

Bonaparte has also got *his* idol ; it is what *he* calls his *glory*, (but properly speaking *power*,) to which there is nothing in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, that he would not sacrifice ; and I am fully persuaded that he thinks nothing adequate to the completion of his glory short of universal empire. There was a time, indeed, when the purity of his intentions might have admitted of some doubt. There was a time when many persons expected he would have retired from power, like Washington, and left an unfulfilled reputation behind him. But from the moment his resolution of being declared consul for life (to call it an
election

election would be absurd) was promulgated, all reflecting men considered the die as cast. The Rubicon was passed; and there was no return.

In order to be convinced of his most seriously entertaining projects of universal empire, it is only necessary to trace his constant, regular and gradual progression to the attainment of that despotic sway which he actually possesses. Or can any one, who is of a different opinion, say where he will stop?

Universal empire, indeed, in the present state of the world, must appear to any rational man, utterly impossible to be attained: but a man, intoxicated with power and adulation, is not rational. The object, however, becomes impossible to be attained, only because it is impossible the powers of Europe should remain insensible to their danger, and not adopt efficacious measures to stop the progress of usurpation. Without

out] England, all the powers of Europe would be unable to frustrate the ambitious projects of Bonaparte. England may, therefore, be considered as the bulwark of the independence of Europe. Accordingly it is against Great Britain, as the sole obstacle to the completion of his views, that the First Consul of France harbours the most profound and inveterate animosity ;— an animosity which, notwithstanding his power of dissimulation, he could, even before the war, on no occasion conceal.

The desire of glory (meaning always power) excepted, Bonaparte is perfectly master of all his passions ; or, to speak perhaps more correctly, all passion in him is centered in this alone. Hence he is probably the most complete master of dissimulation that has ever appeared on the great theatre of the world. It is, therefore, evident that no confidence can or ought to be placed in any arrangements, which he might insidiously choose to propose, that would leave
him

him the power of resuming projects, which he may for a moment relinquish, but will never abandon.

I will venture to affirm, and I believe it is not difficult to be proved, that there can be no security for the independence of Europe, until the French government are obliged to withdraw their forces, without the smallest qualification, within the territories of France, properly so called. Let us consider, for a moment, what would be the consequence of a partial or incomplete arrangement. In less than ten years, Bonaparte would have the greatest part of the continent of Europe organized, after his manner, into a vast politico-military machine, unprecedented in the annals of the world. His vassals and his subjects would become accustomed to obedience, whereas at present they are ashamed and disgusted with the yoke. Having the ports of France, Spain, (for her independence is only delusive,) Italy, and Holland at his devotion, in
less

less than ten years he might form a navy equal, or superior, to that of Great Britain.— And then—I will leave the reader to draw the consequences.

In general I believe when a free nation is attacked by a despot, determined to reduce them to slavery, they have no alternative but that of submitting at once, or of determining to make no compromise, and never to sheath the sword until the despot is reduced to a condition in which he is rendered incapable of ever again renewing his attack. This policy, on the present occasion, seems to be the more necessary to Great Britain from that part of Bonaparte's character, of which I am now going to speak. It is well known, from a multitude of facts upon record *, that he is as completely destitute of principle as it is possible for man to be ;

* I refer the reader to those stated by all writers on this subject ; and indeed to the general chain of occurrences in the history of Bonaparte's life.

and that, in his conduct, he regards nothing but the means by which he may accomplish his ends. The facility with which he can change his religion; the ease with which he can promote a Jacobin, a Royalist, or a Republican, to office, according as it suits his immediate views; the *sang froid* with which he could order the sick of his army to be poisoned, and unarmed Turks to be shot*, are, or ought to be, sufficient proof, that, if he does not *yet* proceed to *guillotine* his enemies, like Robespierre, it is only because *guillotining* is now out of fashion, and would be injurious to his purposes. Those who know him most intimately, having made a study of his character, do not scruple to predict that, if he should ever find himself in a situation of extraordinary difficulty or danger, he would

* These facts I believe to be true, because I know the character of the man to be such that there is nothing which he would scruple to act, in order to obtain his ends.

rival in cruelty any tyrant of ancient or modern times.

There is not a shape, form, figure, or colour, which this Proteus-like consul is not ready to assume, in order to preserve and to increase his power. His dexterity in neutralising parties has been admirable. When the Jacobins get too strong, he infuses a certain portion of Royalists into the mass, and *vice versa*; as to republicans, he has himself, on some occasion, affirmed that there are but *seven* in all the Republic, and that he is one of them.

Finding that he gave too much umbrage even in France by the restraint he had imposed on the liberty of the press, he now affects to become its protector.

This convenient versatility, or total absence of principle, should teach us to expect that, when his plan of invasion fails, he will not scruple to shift his ground, and

again make professions of friendship. He will endeavour to form some new amicable arrangement, even more destructive to Great Britain than a state of war. He is dangerous as an enemy; but still more dangerous as a friend.

I have thus endeavoured to give an outline of the character and views of Bonaparte, which appear to be of more essential consequence to the public than the particulars of his birth, parentage, and education, &c. These have already been exhibited in such various shapes that I deem it superfluous to repeat them here. But I will quote two extracts from some of his former speeches, which the reader may contrast with his present conduct, as manifested by the different anecdotes related in this work, and thus form an estimate, from facts before his eyes, of the credit due to the professions of such a man.

Extract of a Speech to the Council of Ancients, on the 18th of Brumaire.

“ Let us avoid losing the *two things* for which we have made so many sacrifices, *liberty and equality.*”

Another Extract from the same Speech.

“ But I rejected their overtures (those of Barras and Moulin), *liberty being more dear to me than life, and having no wish but that of serving the French people.*

Order respecting Pancoucke and Moutardier.

“ *L’Imprimeur au Bicetre, et l’auteur à Guienne.*”

Although no one dare to offend the First Consul in print, there are thousands of epigrams constantly in circulation against him in manuscript. The French make use of epigrams as the English of caricatures. One of the few which I remember at this moment is as follows :

*Toujours de la meme façon
 Le monde se laissoit conduire ;
 Notre Consul put le Neron,
 Et la France le bas Empire.*

SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING BONAPARTE'S FAMILY.

The original name of the family was Buonaparte. But there was another family in Corsica, who were less obscure, and wrote their name Bonaparte. The superior dignity of this latter was said to have been the First Consul's motive for omitting the *u* in the name.

The family of Buonaparte have long been established in the island of Corsica. His paternal ancestors are said to have been originally of Sarzana in Italy. His father was a lawyer of no considerable eminence in the town of Ajaccio, and became afterwards, through the interest of Marechal de Marbœuf, Attorney General. He died and was buried at Montpellier, in the south of France, where

where a Monument has lately been erected to his memory, in compliment to the son.

MADAME BUONAPARTE, THE MOTHER.

The maiden name of Madame Buonaparte, the mother, is Faesch. Her family is of the town of Bale, in Switzerland. When the Marehall de Marbœuf was commander in chief of Corsica, Madame Bonaparte is said to have been his principal favourite, and to have even presided at his table : Napoleon, First Consul of France, is generally thought to be the fruit of their intimacy.

Madame Buonaparte, the mother, is still living, and resides at Paris. She is esteemed a woman of sense, and is much respected. The First Consul is said to have formerly profited by the moderation of her counsels : but he has not latterly listened so much to her advice. Her brother, now Cardinal Faesch and Archbishop of Lyons, was, be-

fore the French revolution, a prebendary or canon in one of the towns of Italy.

The other branches of this family are :

JOSEPH BONAPARTE,

The elder brother of the First Consul of France. Before the revolution he was wholly unknown. The military reputation of the General first brought him to the notice of the public. In the year 5 we find him admitted a deputy to the council of five hundred. In the year 6, he was employed as ambassador to the court of Rome, where the Executive Directory of the French republic thought it necessary, for political purposes, to organize a plot. This plot succeeded to their satisfaction, and Joseph was formally thanked for his conduct. It is however asserted that the death of General Duphot, who was killed by the mob on this occasion, was owing to the tardiness or timidity of the ambassador in putting a
stop

stop to the insurrection, which he had raised.

Since the accession of his brother to the first magistracy, Joseph has been successively appointed counsellor of state, minister plenipotentiary for negotiating the treaties of Luneville and of Amiens, and one of the great officers of the legion of honour, by which he is also entitled to a seat in the senate. Joseph is not thought to possess great talents ; but his private character is respectable. He has lately, to the prejudice of others, who had certainly better claims, been elected a member of the National Institution.

Upon this occasion, a member of some independence ventured to address the president, humbly enquiring what Joseph Bonaparte had done for the promotion of science or of literature, that he should be elected to sit among them? The person who proposed

posed him (Cambaceres I believe) replied that *he had made the peace of Amiens.*

LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

The third brother (the general being the second) was, at the commencement of the revolution, an obscure clerk in one of the military offices in the south of France, at a salary of 12 or 1800 livres a year. He was afterwards put on half-pay. Finding this pittance much too small for his wants, he applied to the government for an augmentation of his allowance; and his petition to the Directory on this subject is still extant. Under these circumstances, Lucien found it convenient to marry the daughter of a rich innkeeper, who consented to the match only because it had been rendered necessary to the reputation of his daughter. It is even added that Napoleon, before his campaigns in Italy, wished to have married one of Lucien's sisters-

sisters-in-law ; but that his alliance was not acceptable either to the girl or to the parents.

On the strength of his brother's increasing fame, Lucien, who was always bold in speaking, got a seat in the Council of Five Hundred, where he acted a distinguished part. In the year 6, he moved for the liberty of keeping the shops open on Sundays, citing the example of Rome in support of his opinion. In the year 7, he invited his colleagues to swear to die for the constitution of the year 3 ; and was generally deemed a Jacobin and a freethinker. He has since, however, taken a no less active part in destroying the constitution of the year 3, and in re-establishing the ancient forms of the Roman catholic worship.

Since the establishment of the consular government, Lucien has been successively appointed minister of the interior, ambassador

dor to the court of Madrid, member of the tribunate and of the legion of honour, &c. &c. He is deemed a man of considerable talent; but rapacious and prodigal. He and Joseph were of great service to the general in the prosecution of his views of aggrandisement.

LOUIS BONAPARTE,

The fourth brother, after having gone through the regular steps of promotion in the army, enjoys at present the rank of general. He has not been distinguished in any particular manner during the revolution; but is regarded as an inoffensive character, and is generally liked in the army. He married Mademoiselle Beauharnois, the daughter of Madame Bonaparte by her former husband.

JEROME BONAPARTE,

The youngest of the family, is a midshipman or Lieutenant in the navy: he is
accused

accused of giving himself in society the airs of an ill-bred young prince.

BONAPARTE'S SISTERS

Are four in number. The eldest is married to Citizen Bachocki, a subaltern officer under the ancient government. He has no employment under the consular government, and is scarcely ever spoken of in Paris. The only talent for which he is remarkable is that of playing on the violin. He has an uncle of the same name, who had the rank of colonel under the ancient government. Colonel Bachocki emigrated at the commencement of the revolution, and returned to Toulon with the English, in the hope of re-entering, by their assistance, triumphantly into France. What is rather singular, having since returned to France, he has been appointed to a command at Toulon; and, such was his disgust at the conduct of the combined powers, when they took that place, he will probably

bably be one of the most zealous to defend his post, should his old friends attempt a similar expedition.

Bonaparte's second sister was married to General Le Clerc, late Captain-General of St. Domingo; and is now married to Prince Borghesi, an Italian. The third is Madame Murat, wife of the commander in chief of the military force in the Italian Republic. And there is said to be a fourth, although of this I am not sure, a girl of fourteen years of age, still unmarried.

MADAME BONAPARTE.

The maiden name of Madame Bonaparte, wife of the First Consul, is *De la Pagerie*. Her father was a *chevalier de St. Louis*, and a proprietor of plantations in the West Indies. Her uncle, Mons. de la Pagerie, was port captain; and her family was generally esteemed in the three islands of St. Domingo, Martinico, and Guadaloupe. She
was

was married when very young, against her inclination, to Alexander Count de Beauharnois, before the revolution *major en seconde* of infantry. Beauharnois was, in 1789, appointed a deputy to the States General. In the early stages of the revolution, he was promoted to the rank of general in the army, and had several important commands, in all of which he acquitted himself with credit. In 1794, he gave in his dismissal, on the ground of his being of a proscribed order; and was shortly afterwards guillotined. In the same year, Madame Bonaparte married her present husband, in consequence of which he obtained the command of the army of Italy. She is ten years older than the First Consul.

Madame Bonaparte had two children by her first husband, a son and a daughter. The former is now a General in the French army; and the latter is married to Louis Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul.

Many scandalous anecdotes are in circulation, respecting the private morals of the family. But, as I am only their enemy upon public grounds, I will leave these matters to be recorded by other pens.

LONDON AND PARIS.

In customs, manners, amusements, drefs, buildings, and modes of life, every capital and every town differ from every other, according to the almost infinite variety of circumstances which constitute the cause of those differences. But there are none, perhaps, which occasion so great and essential a diversity, as difference of topographical situation. Had London been built in an inland part of the kingdom, which no ships or vessels could approach, it would not now have been distinguished, above all cities in the world, for commerce, manufactures, industry of every kind, affluence, independence, and power. Had Paris been built in a situation accessible to shipping, it

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would

would have been a commercial, manufacturing, industrious, affluent, independent, and powerful city. The inland position of Paris, then, is in a great measure the remote cause of the little freedom, which has ever existed in France, of the complete despotism which has reigned at all the periods of the revolution, and of the absolute tyranny that prevails at this moment. The French reproach the English with being a nation of shopkeepers: but to speak justly, London may be called a city of Warehouses, and Paris a city of Shops. The inhabitants of Paris, who are in business, are almost all subject, less or more, to the will of the reigning party of the day: those of London are not subject to the caprice of any man, or of any party.

It is not my intention to enter into a minute detail of the circumstances, arising from topographical position, which have retarded, and must long retard, the progress of that nation, of which Paris is the capital, toward freedom and independence. But I

am persuaded that they are so numerous and so powerful in their operation, that Russia, from the position of its capital, will in no long time precede France in the pre-eminent distinctions of freedom and happiness. I know not whether I might not even mention the Ottoman Empire, were not the epidemic to which its capital is subject so great an obstacle to the progress of population and improvement. Prussia and Austria I regard, and for the same reason, equally incapable with France of making any rapid progress toward ameliorating the condition of their inhabitants. If Dantzic, or some other sea-port town, were made the capital of Prussia, and Trieste that of Austria, I am certain that, with the exception of the towns of Berlin and Vienna, a considerable improvement would take place in consequence throughout their respective dominions. These ideas, however, I mention only in illustration of my argument, without either recommending or expecting that they should ever be acted upon

by

by the two great powers of Germany. In no instance does Peter the Great appear to me to deserve that epithet better than for having transferred the capital of his dominions to a sea-port town. See note (a.)

I do not say that without this circumstance, freedom cannot exist : for Switzerland was once free. But that part of commerce, which depends upon navigation, cannot be too highly prized ; as without it, whatever progress a nation may make in internal improvement, their independence can never be secure against the attacks of a more powerful neighbour. But with a navy, if irretrievably vanquished, a free people may even take refuge in the sea. The history of the Venetians affords a striking example of what I mean.

THE CONCIERGERIE.

I had, by accident, an opportunity of visiting the interior of the prisons, and of be-

coming intimately acquainted with the details and shades of despotism in France. A Mr. T——r, whom I had formerly attended in a medical capacity in Germany, was, in the month of May or June 1802, arrested by the police, at an hotel in the *Rue de la Loi*, and carried to the *Conciergerie*. He wrote me, a week or ten days after his arrest, that, being indisposed, he wished I would come to see him, and apply to the proper authorities for admission to the jail.

Upon the receipt of his letter, I repaired to the *Palais de Justice*, under which is the prison of the *Conciergerie*, and was directed to the office of the Commissary of the Government, whose business it was to grant permission to see the prisoners. On making the request, one of the clerks, to whom I addressed myself for this purpose, said: "*Comment, Monsieur, vous voulez voir ce scelerat ?* How, Sir, you wish to see that rascal? Sir, I am persuaded he is no more a rascal than you ; otherwise

wise

wife I would not wish to see him. “ But, Sir, he is accused of coining.” In my country, Sir, we always consider an accused man as innocent, until he is found guilty by the verdict of a jury ; and *even then* we consider him as entitled to all the duties of humanity. “ Sir, he has already had so many people admitted to him that we can give no more permissions.” (This was not true ; for they only permitted his servant to see him, and that even seldom.) Tired of the impertinence of this clerk, I told him I must see the Commissary of the Government himself. He shewed me with reluctance into the Commissary’s cabinet, where I was received with somewhat more politeness. “ This gentleman, Sir,” said he to the Commissary, in a tone of voice which indicated clearly his own opinion of the matter, “ requests to see that man T——r.” “ Have you got your papers *en regle*,” said the Commissary ? I have not got my passport with me, I replied : but here is a paper, pulling a letter of the Minister of the Inte-

rior from my pocket, which will explain who I am. He perused it, turned to the clerk, and desired that I might be immediately admitted to see Mr. T——r.

That gentleman informed me that he had been arrested for having lodged three hundred *louis d'ors*, which were said not to have been coined in France, with a banker in the *Rue de Lille*, who denounced him to the police. He was detained three months in prison, although he repeatedly solicited to be brought to trial. Proof was ready to be produced that the *louis d'ors* had been bought from a respectable money-changer at Hamburg. They were full weight, and in every respect as good as French *louis d'ors*; but they were not coined in France. At a time that these pieces were in great demand on the continent, some merchants of Hamburg bought gold bars, and had them made into *louis d'ors*, which they sold at a considerable profit.

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Had the law been equally applied to all, Mr. T—r would, in this case, have had no cause to complain. But a German, whose name I now forget, having been denounced in a similar manner, his money was seized, without his being arrested. Cardinal Caprara, the Pope's legate, had also issued some money of the same coinage, without suffering the least molestation in his holy person.

Mr. T—r after an imprisonment of more than three months, was released, and at the end of some months more had his money returned, without, however, receiving any compensation for the detention and loss.

At present the case is the same with respect to all the laws of the republic. They are executed with severity, or not executed at all, as the accused is either deemed worthy the persecution or protection of the government. Nor let the public of other countries allow themselves to be deceived

by the pompous declamations of the French Newspapers. The more loudly they boast of national virtue, justice, honor, liberality, and good faith, the more it behoves us to expect the constant violation of them all.

THE QUEEN OF FRANCE'S CELL.

During my visits to Mr. T—r I had occasion to see the miserable room, or rather cell, in which the Queen of France was confined before her death. It was converted to a more appropriate use, a guard-room.

In viewing this vile apartment, situated in the back part of the under-ground floor of the building, narrow, dark, dismal, and moist, it was impossible not to contrast the fate of the unfortunate *Marie Antoinette*, with that of the woman, who now occupies and pollutes her throne. It was impossible not to reflect with regret on the absurd and dangerous inconsistency of the French peo-

ple, who had sent the former to the scaffold, and were daily presenting addresses to the latter in praise of her virtue: the virtue of Madame Bonaparte !

THE TEMPLE.

Mr. de P., a Frenchman, advised me strongly not to go to the *conciergerie* to see Mr. T——, observing that I might become suspected, and get into a scrape with the Government. It was not many weeks afterwards when Mr. de P.—— was put in the Temple, and detained for five or six months. His only crime, as he informed me, was the having uttered some incautious words at a private table, when heated with wine. Dining with a female relation of Madame Bonaparte, she took occasion to observe that a great deal of the abuse published in the English Newspapers, came from returned Emigrants in Paris, and looking stedfastly at Mr. de P.—— repeated the observation. To which

which he thought proper to make this reply : Madam, I hope you do not think that any of it comes from me. I am not a Garret conspirator. If I had thirty thousand troops indeed—Here he recollected himself ; but it was too late. Next day he was arrested, and carried to the Temple.

DECLARATION OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH JOURNALS.

In the months of June, July, and August 1802, a species of warfare commenced between the Journals of the two countries, which, to me, was a proof of the rising spirit of hostility between the *government* of France and the British *nation*. I say the government of France, because, in that unhappy country at present, the tone of the Journals indicates only the disposition of the government, while that of the British Newspapers indicates the disposition of the people

people at large. The following observations on this subject, supposed to be written by citizen Rœderer, are curious, and perhaps deserve to be quoted: "Why are the English papers so abusive against the French? It is because many Frenchmen, who cannot take that liberty in France without danger, may deliver their sentiments through the channel of the English papers; and because it is an old custom in England to abuse all the world. The Newspapers of that country abuse the greatest personages in the kingdom, and the crowned heads of Europe. What did they not say against Louis XVI., and particularly against the queen, when in the zenith of their power?"

"The English like to read abuse, as they like to see caricatures. They must have abuse, where we should have only an epigram, and a print where our delicacy would scarcely permit an allusion. The English do not, like the French, dislike abuse, for the same reason that they do not, like the Italians,

lians, love music. Montesquieu, in his *Esprit des Loix*, says: ‘I have seen the English and Italian operas. The pieces and actors are the same. But the same music produces so different an effect on the two nations, the one is so calm, and the other so transported, that it appears inconceivable.’ The English have no taste; and that is the reason why they are so abusive.

“ Will any one pretend that a people, who drink beer, eat beef, warm themselves with sea-coal, breath a heavy, moist, and cold atmosphere, pass the half of their lives at sea, and see women only in their parlors, can have so delicate and lively a sentiment of decency as a people, who drink wine, eat bread, warm themselves at a bright and gentle fire, breath a sharp and clear air, and daily receive lessons of taste and decorum from a familiar and respectful intercourse with witty, decent, and frank women?

“ But

“ But what signifies the abuse of the English papers? They are so dear, so tiresome, and so ill-written, that they are esteemed only in England, and very little even there.”

On these *profound* remarks I shall only make one observation. I hope we may ever continue to live in the same coarse manner, provided we thereby preserve a taste, which the author of this article seems to have never known, or totally to have forgotten, namely the taste for freedom and independence.

POPULAR ELECTIONS.

About the same period the election of Middlesex called forth a great deal of abuse from the French Journals; not that they cared a straw which of the candidates should succeed; but they were very angry that no riots, no disorders, no massacres were committed, so as to give the people of England
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a resemblance to the revolutionists of France. When the French have reproached the English with selling their votes, I used to make this reply : The difference between the English and the French in that respect is, that while the former may sell their votes, *if they choose*, the latter *have no votes to sell*. I have often assured them that they would find, in the fanciful theories of the First Consul, who seems to be much less solicitous that the form of government in France should be *good*, than that it should be *peculiar*, but a poor substitute for popular representation, *even as it exists in England*.

PROHIBITION OF ENGLISH NEWS- PAPERS IN FRANCE.

About the middle of August, the First Consul thought proper to prohibit the introduction of English Newspapers into France, and to seize all that had been already introduced. To this general prohibition there was an exception in favour of
Bell's

Bell's Weekly Messenger, which I believe was received at all the reading rooms in Paris till nearly the commencement of the war. Whatever I might have thought of the principles of that paper, I was happy to remark the contrast of which it afforded a proof. The stile in which it was conducted shewed that, while in France no man dared to write in favour of any thing that was English, in England people might write *even in favour of Bonaparte.*

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND, COMMONLY CALLED TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

One of the most remarkable circumstances, in the history of this remarkable man, is his thinking it necessary, after having abandoned the church so many years ago, to be now formally restored to the laity, by a bull from his holiness the Pope. The bull declares that this favour is granted *in consideration of the many services rendered*
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by citizen Talleyrand to the holy Roman Catholic church. In consequence he has been enabled formally to espouse Madame le Grand, who has lived with him many years in habits of intimacy. This lady, who has not generally been admired for her wit, lately made a repartee to the First Consul, which was much applauded in Paris. “*J’espere, Madame, said Bonaparte upon seeing her for the first time after her marriage, que la conduite de Madame Talleyrand fera oublier celle de Madame le Grand.*” I hope, Madam, the conduct of Mrs. le Grand will be forgotten in that of Mrs. Talleyrand. To which she replied: “*Citoyen Premier Consul, Je me ferai toujours un devoir de suivre les pas de Madame Bonaparte.*” Citizen First Consul, I shall always think it my duty to follow the example of Madame Bonaparte. See note (b).

Talleyrand, and the French ministers in general, are treated by his Consular Majesty

sometimes with great indignity. The minister of exterior relations has been obliged to get out of bed at midnight, during the prevalence of the influenza last year, with his face swelled, his eyes watering and mouth ulcerated, and to repair to the consular palace, upon business of the most trivial nature. Expressing my astonishment that a man of such large fortune could be so servile, a very ingenious person of my acquaintance made the following apt observations: "You know, Sir, that if Talleyrand were displaced by Bonaparte, he could not get another master, in whose service he could enjoy the same station and influence. But a porter, if he is turned out of his employment by you or me, can easily get another master. A porter is, therefore, more independent than Talleyrand; and would scorn to submit to the same insults."

PANCOUKE AND MOUTARDIER.

In December 1802, an unfortunate author, if I mistake not of the name of Pancouke, resident at *Versailles*, having taken it in his head that he could give some salutary lessons to the government, wrote a book which he entitled *Mentor*. He went with the manuscript to *Moutardier*, an illiterate and rather covetous bookseller, but an industrious and probably an honest man. *Moutardier*, without examining very critically the contents, agreed to print the book; and the press was accordingly set to work. But the foreman, who it seems was more conversant in politics, if not in literature, than his master, ventured to make some remonstrances against the printing, alledging that as *Mentor* had taken the liberty not only to *advise*, but even to *reprove* the government, the undertaking might, under existing circumstances,

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be attended with some danger. The book-feller, however, urged perhaps by his attachment to the liberty of the press, or his wish of getting money, over-ruled these objections, and desired the foreman to print on; observing that he would take his chance of the consequences, and that the work would only sell the better for containing salutary animadversions on the government. (This poor fellow probably had the misfortune, at some period of his life, of having been in England, and hearing some dangerous doctrines respecting the liberty of the press, which he might have thought universally applicable.) The book was finished; but the author, being unable to procure permission from the police to bring it to market, or money to pay for the printing, *Moutardier* thought proper, as he had heard of several transportations for as trivial offences as those committed by *Mentor*, to lock the work up for the present in his ware-house. In the mean time, Boffange, Masson and Besson, also booksellers, who

had a process depending against *Moutardier*, respecting the dictionary of the French academy, and had perhaps other reasons for wishing to ruin him, contrived to entice one of his workmen into their service, and to get, through his means, a copy of *Mentor* at the price of twenty-five *louis d'ors*. It was one of those copies, which in all printing-offices, I believe, are the customary perquisite of the printers upon finishing a work. B. M. and B. sent this copy to the police with a denunciation against *Moutardier*. He was arrested, and the affair laid before the First Consul, who gave this very summary decision: “ *L'imprimeur au Bicetre, et l'auteur a Guianne.*” Let the printer be sent to the Bicetre, and the author to Cayenne.

The body of booksellers, by their influence, got *Moutardier* released; but the foreman was sent to the Bicetre in his stead. What has been the fate of the author I have not been able to learn.

ARCHAMBAUD PERIGORD,

One of Talleyrand's brothers, has felt the weight of consular authority. He has been banished to the south of France, or to Italy, avowedly for having gone to England to receive arrears of pay due to him while in the British service, and having too intimate a connection with the British government ; but in reality because he refused his daughter in marriage to Lucien Bonaparte. His refusal was at first made under the pretence of her being too young, and upon a second application, under the plea of her not choosing to marry a widower. The same offer is said to have been repeated to Archambaud, in exile, and to have been refused. It is also generally reported that the hand of *Mademoiselle de La Fayette* has been refused to Lucien. It is to be observed that, as in France, marriages in general are only arrangements of convenience, in which

the heart has no share, the young ladies themselves are very seldom applied to for their consent. That of the parents being once obtained, the match is concluded, whatever pangs it may cost the unfortunate victim, who is unwillingly dragged to the altar. If *they* refuse, *she* must refuse of course. In the *great nation*, parental authority itself is of a despotic hue.

Lucien, although disappointed in his views of being connected with the ancient patrician families of France, has however made in other respects an eligible match. He has, as I am informed from Paris, married a widow, who, in jewels and richness of apparel, vies with the spouse of the First Consul. I have not been able to learn her name.

SENATORERIES, EMPEROR OF THE
GAULS, AND PRINCES OF THE EM-
PIRE.

Towards the end of 1802, people conversant in the private history of the politics of the Thuilleries, affirm that it was seriously in agitation that Bonaparte should assume the title of *Imperial* or *Consular Majesty*; that there should be created sixteen *Princes of the Empire*, and fifty *Senatoreries*. Of the princes of the empire eight were to have been chosen from among the members of the senate, and eight from the family of the First Consul; viz. his four brothers, Joseph, Lucien, Louis and Jerome; his three brothers-in-law, Bachocki, Murat and Leclerc (then living), and his step-son Beauharnois. But these projects, excepting the latter, were found by the senate to be either premature or ridiculous, and were

therefore abandoned. The *Senatoreries*, however, a term rather harsh to be sure for the French language, but adopted in imitation of the ancient *Commanderies*, have been actually established, to the number of about fifty, yielding at least a revenue of fifty thousand livres each.

What a neat sum of patronage at one blow !

THE MONITEUR.

In the *Hamburgh Correspondenten*, a paper long esteemed in Europe for its impartiality and correctness, it was once pleasantly observed: "that they had received *recent* American newspapers, containing intelligence from St. Domingo, of a nature by no means favourable to the French; but that they thought it unnecessary to publish the particulars, as they had been *long ago* refuted by the *Moniteur*." It is a curious
paper,

paper, this same Moniteur, and will be to posterity a precious repository of information. It ought not to surprise us that a paper, which has the faculty of anticipating refutations of false intelligence, should claim the privilege of regulating, by proclamation, the destinies of the present and of all future generations of mankind. It will not readily be forgotten how auspiciously it commenced the new year*, with delivering lessons of wisdom to the British parliament: "It would be a patriotic and sage law, which should enact that ministers going out of place, should not be allowed to sit *in the English Parliament* for seven years. Another law, not less wise, would be that every member, who should insult a people or a power in friendship, should be condemned to two years silence; when the tongue sins it should be punished."

* See the Moniteur of the 1st January 1803.

In the arrogant insult contained in the above paragraphs, coming directly from the government, it is impossible not to recognise sufficient cause of hostilities on the part of Great Britain.

MOLITERNO AND BERPUCCEI.

It was in the same spirit of arrogance and madness that two subjects of foreign states were arrested at Calais, sent to the temple, and threatened to be brought to trial for transactions which did not pass in the French territory. This doctrine, I presume, is only to be found in Citizen Ræderer's new code of the Laws of Nations*.

* The Journal de Paris, which is under the direction of this worthy member of the French government, was at that time frequently filled with very ridiculous commentaries on the laws of nations.

LEGION OF HONOUR.

It is a curious circumstance that no list of the members of this body has ever been published. The reason assigned for that omission is, that the government were desirous of concealing from the knowledge of the public that *Moreau* was not of the number, that celebrated general having declined the proffered honour. It now seems that this institution is not to be exclusively devoted to the reception of military worthies. All men, whom Bonaparte *thinks* honourable, may be raised to that distinction. The military members enrolled in it are all *more* than heroes; for they have each performed *impossibilities* *. It is not then surprising that a man of Moreau's modesty should not have thought himself entitled to so elevated a dignity.

* See their several pretensions or exploits recorded in the *Moniteur*, upon their respective promotions.

INTERVIEW OF BONAPARTE WITH THE SWISS DEPUTIES IN JANUARY 1803.

The First Consul had a conference with ten of the Swiss deputies, five of the aristocratic, and five of the democratic party, which lasted for seven hours, and of which the particulars are curious. The four senators charged with the affairs of that country were present; a large table was placed, at the top of which sat Bonaparte; the four senators were placed at the bottom, the five aristocratic deputies were ranged on one side, and the five democratic ones on the other. This representation was what, from its length perhaps, as well as its ostentation, the French call an *opera*. The Consul discussed the Cantonal constitution with the Swiss deputies, with more than his usual temper and complaisance. He did not even manifest much impatience at being interrupted or contradicted by them. The
French

French senators he treated as usual like valets, with the exception perhaps of Fouché, to whom he shewed some kind of complaisance. When coffee or other refreshments were required, he bid Barthelmy ring the bell, and as to *Ræderer* he was in the true spirit of a slave watching the looks of his master, in order to anticipate his wishes; *Desneunier* was the clerk of the meeting. None of the other consuls were present; and it is a remarkable coincidence that about the same period the language of the consular decrees was changed in the official paper. Instead of the *consuls of the republic* decree, &c." it is now "the government decrees, &c." On this occasion the Consul unfolded ideas of government which, although not inconsistent with his ordinary doctrines, are certainly very curious, "What is the end of government?" said he to the Swiss deputies. "It is, you know, splendor, power, glory (not a word of the *happiness* of the people): a confederacy which can support a large force may obtain
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this end; but the confederacy of a small state like yours can not. Your safety will consist in your weakness; in exciting the interest (the pity he might have said) of neighbouring states. Of these France alone has come to your assistance. (It was an assistance which they would readily have excused.) How have the other states treated you? Austria took no interest in your fate; England supported your insurgents to promote her own views, and afterwards left them to their fate. [It is remarkable, that in speaking of England on such occasions, Bonaparte always used, even at that time, the term *enemy*.] Had the government of that country presented one note more, I declare that I should have united you to France." [From this, although it is but an unmeaning boast, it would appear that notes or memorials were presented by the British minister on the subject of Switzerland.]

Bonaparte

Bonaparte then addressed himself to the so-called democratic and aristocratic deputies separately, the former he reproached with cowardice in not having defended Berne to the last extremity against the insurgents. [It was Citizen Verninac, the French ambassador, who counselled and decided the capitulation. But it is easy to appear consistent when there is no opposition made.] To the aristocratic side, as the French term them, he addressed himself still more rudely. "Your great war-horse" says he, "is the bombardment of Zurich. But don't you think that if any of my departments were to rise in insurrection against me, I would march an armed force to repress them? And did you not yourselves bombard Fribourg?" Such was the substance of the extraordinary discourse held at this extraordinary meeting.

CHENIER.

The poet *Chenier* has lately been re-introduced upon the public stage. Respecting the particulars of his appointment, several statements have been in circulation. The following seems to be of the most authentic :

Regnaud (de St. Jean d' Angely), frequently employed as orator of the government upon public occasions, had the honour of a similar office on this. He was deputed to sound the inclinations of *Chenier*. Finding that they were of a nature not to reject cultivation, he made his report accordingly; upon which *Lucien* and *Joseph Bonaparte* paid the poet a visit, and the whole of the private arrangement was completed. The appointment in public was thus conducted. *Cambaceres* presented to the First Consul a list of ten candidates for the vacant office in
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the department of public instruction. He looked it over and said: "What! I do not see the name of any man of genius in this list: you have omitted the very name which should be at the head; you have omitted Chenier." How, Citizen First Consul, Chenier is one of your enemies. "Poh! I do not wish to hear any one speak of my enemies. Put down the name of Chenier for the place, and put your ten blockheads in your pocket." Portallis, who was also present, made some remonstrance, quoting a passage from Chenier's works, which he thought would be displeasing to the First Consul. "In that passage," said he, "there is a great deal of genius. I am but the more confirmed in my determination." And Chenier was appointed.

The First Consul is gifted with an excellent memory. When any of his counsellors of state, or other dependants, read him a passage bearing a different or opposite interpretation from some passage

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of theirs, which he recollects to have upon any former occasion heard, he stops him, saying, " that is very different from what you said on such an occasion ; you are a man of bad faith ;" and he turns his back upon him.

Bonaparte has that happy versatility, which enables him with equal *sang froid* to turn his back or his face to any one, according as is most useful to obtain his immediate objects. We have proofs of this in his present, and his former conduct to the Abbé Sieyes ; but what seems most surprising is, that men of celebrity, like Sieyes, should not have sufficient dignity of soul to refuse appearing so palpably as tools of the usurper.

SPECIAL TRIBUNALS.—JURIES AND FAUX.

The administration of justice in France is so conducted that the innocent can be
condemned,

condemned, and the guilty acquitted, according to the pleasure of the government. Among the crimes which at present attract most of their attention, is that which is termed *faux*; and which alone, considering all the cases it comprehends, as well as the mode of trial adopted, puts a great proportion of the French nation at the entire disposal of the government. The offenders are called *faussaires*; every species of falsification, from coining of money to a simple error in account, comes under the denomination of *faux*. A commissary general of the army, in whose accounts an error of four *sous* is discovered, may be tried for this offence. The accused are tried, without a jury, by the judges of the special tribunal; and if they happen to be obnoxious to the government, we may guess what, in the present state of things, is likely to be their fate. The evils occasioned by the extensive signification given to this term in France, are almost incredible. A poor woman lately tried for the murder of a man who died a

natural death on his bed, and acquitted, had been obliged, in order to maintain herself during a six months' confinement in prison, to put her watch in pledge. Ashamed to appear under her own name, she employed one of her neighbours to execute this commission under a feigned one. This circumstance appearing upon her trial, the neighbour, who had put the watch in pawn under an assumed name, was committed to prison in order to be tried for a *faux*, and the poor woman who had been already six months in prison, and acquitted on the original charge, was recommitted as an accomplice.

When a commissary, having demands to a large amount against the government, presents his accounts, the slightest error, or any false document, of which he may have been innocent or ignorant, being found, he is brought to trial before the judges of the special tribunal. His being found guilty, liquidates all his demands upon government ;

ment ; and, in that case, any property of which he may be possessed is confiscated to pay the charges of the prosecution ; which charges are at the discretion of the judges ; and these judges receive a stipend of only 4000 livres a-year each (less than 200*l.* Sterling), with pens, ink and paper, from the government ; for which reason the people say that the *committée revolutionnaire* was instituted by the government of Robespierre *pour battre de la monnoie* (to coin money), but that the tribunal special has been instituted by the government of Bonaparte *pour payer ses dettes* (to pay their debts).

As an instance of the extraordinary charges of this tribunal, we may cite the cause of Mr. L. He was convicted of a faux, which was only an error of 400 livres in an account of several millions. Beside being condemned to be publicly exposed, and to work eight years in the galleys, the expence of his process amounted to the

very moderate sum of *twenty-five thousand livres*.

A gentleman, Mr. B. has a law-suit with one of the judges of this tribunal for a property valued at 250,000 livres. An alledged *faux* is trumped up against him; he is thrown into prison, and there detained until a decision is passed against him. During the whole term of the process, Mr. B. was not allowed to have communication with any person. But what are the members of this tribunal, who act at once in the three characters, of grand jury, petty jury, and judges? Citizen Hemer, the president, was, prior to the revolution, an attorney, and since a decided jacobin. Thuriot, second in command, presided a jacobin club, when the death of the king was voted; he was also the voluntary defender of the Septembrifers. It will scarcely be necessary to say more in order to establish the reputation of the members of this tribunal.

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These are facts, which it would be ungenerous to bring to the recollection of the public, did not the same personages persist in the same unprincipled line of conduct under every succeeding government. The system of terror, although of a different kind, is now as complete as it was in the time of Robespierre. The barristers, or *defenseurs officielles*, are afraid to speak strenuously in defence of their clients before the judges of this awful tribunal, or indeed to speak at all without offering an apology for the liberty which they presume to take. The following may serve as a specimen of their manner. Mr. C., *defenseur officielle*, when lately pleading in behalf of Mr. Q., cousin-german of the celebrated Mirabeau, thus addressed the tribunal : “ Citizens, I have not the honour of knowing my client, nor do I possess his confidence. I undertake his defence from pure humanity for his family.” (Note well that this gentleman’s humanity had been

invigorated by five-and-twenty louis d'ors of his client's money in the morning.)

The matters which are allowed to be tried before juries are now very few ; they had the impudence to acquit all persons whose guilt was not clearly proved. This noble institution which, among all people of common sense, is so highly prized, it is expected will shortly be abolished throughout the republic. Indeed, from the manner in which trials are carried on, even in cases in which juries are still permitted, it does not much signify whether they do or do not continue to exist. Mr. R. for instance, having been confined in prison for several months, at last by importunity obtained a trial ; three of the witnesses had already been examined, when one of the judges demanded the *proces verbal*, *alias* a copy of the examinations which had been drawn up by the magistrate who committed him. This piece, which had been in the possession

sion of the judges themselves, and for which they alone were accountable, was missing ; upon which all proceedings were laid aside, and Mr. R. remanded to prison, until it should please the judges to recommence his trial. The fact is, that there was nothing against this gentleman for which he could be condemned ; but he had the misfortune to be obnoxious to the government, which now-a-days never fails to ensure one a permanent lodging in the prison of France.

We know not what may have been the number of prisoners usually detained in the jails of Paris during the tyranny of Robespierre ; but their actual number is said to exceed fifteen thousand. Of these a considerable portion is composed of females, many of them young women under twenty years of age, condemned for petty offences, to a confinement of several years.

The cruelty with which condemned persons are treated, when we consider that
France

France is a country reputed civilized, is astonishing, and almost incredible. Such is the dread which prisoners have of this ordeal, that numbers of them attempt to destroy themselves, after sentence of condemnation is passed. A poor woman, lately condemned to eight years hard labour for a *faux*, stabbed herself several times in the breast the day on which she was ordered to be exposed in the pillory, a preliminary part of the punishment. Notwithstanding the exhausted state in which her wounds had left her, she was put into a cart (for she was not able to walk, as the prisoners are always obliged to do), and conveyed to the place of exposition. Before the special tribunal, it is not necessary to bring proofs of a prisoner's *guilt*: HE must bring proofs of his *innocence*.

The present policy of the French government is to restore the severity of punishments, which had been laid aside during the revolution. When it was de-
bated

bated in council whether the punishment of marking the shoulder, as in the reign of Louis XVI., should be restored, Bonaparte is said to have proposed that the mark should be upon the cheek. We should then see every man's enmity to the consular government imprinted in his face. It was likewise proposed, by the same authority, to substitute the halter for the guillotine, the latter being thought too easy a death. But finding these suggestions generally disapproved, he did not urge them.

Before the revolution, the galley slaves were chained together by the ankle. It remained for consular prowess to chain them by the neck.

N. B. The facts above stated under the head of "Special Tribunals," &c. were communicated to me by a gentleman at Paris, who had an opportunity of collecting them from the different persons concerned, or from their friends. As it might be improper

per to mention his name in this place, the reader will please to take them anonymously, and to give them what degree of credit he thinks they deserve.

SLIGHTS SHEWN TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

Every one knows the arrogant manner in which Bonaparte behaved to Lord Whitworth previous to his quitting France, and the great propriety of that nobleman's conduct on the occasion. The courtiers, and several members of the diplomatic corps, it would seem, thought it necessary to imitate the conduct of their superior. The following anecdotes I give as I heard them, without, however, vouching for their accuracy. Some time in the month of February 1803, a large company being invited to Cambaceres's, among whom were the foreign ambassadors, some members of the diplomatic body, who had arrived before Lord
Whit-

Whitworth, after paying their compliments to the Second Consul, walked into the adjoining rooms or disappeared. Lord W. upon his arrival, paid his compliments to Cambaceres also; but looking round, and seeing nobody, he enquired if he was the only one arrived? The other gentlemen, replied Cambaceres, have passed into the next room. Lord W. walked into the adjoining apartments; but finding nobody, went away.

Shortly afterwards the same farce, it is said, was again played at a private ball.

These anecdotes are, at first view, trivial in themselves. But, if correct, they mark the degree of obsequiousness by which the representatives of foreign nations have of late condescended to degrade themselves at the court of the usurper of France.

MADAME BONAPARTE'S AUNT.

Upon the death of an aunt, it was very gravely deliberated by Madame Bonaparte and her council whether she should go into mourning. The Consul speedily decided the question: "No?" said he, "if *you* go into mourning, *I* must go into mourning; and if *I* go into mourning, *all the world* must go into mourning."

DEPARTURE OF LORD WHITWORTH
FROM PARIS. DECREE CONSTITUT-
ING THE ENGLISH TRAVELLERS IN
FRANCE PRISONERS OF WAR.

In May 1803, the negotiations between the two countries were brought to a close, and the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, left Paris. All British subjects ought, perhaps, in prudence to have departed at
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the same time. But some were detained by business, and some by pleasure; and none of them probably dreamt of meeting afterwards with any impediment to their departure.

For weeks before Lord Whitworth left Paris, all the journals were daily exclaiming: "Why do the English quit France? What are they afraid of? Can they not trust themselves to the loyalty of the French government, although their ambassador is going away?" This doctrine was preached with such zeal by the journals, all notoriously at the disposition of the government, that it ought of itself to have created an alarm; but I am sorry and ashamed to confess that, notwithstanding my thorough conviction of the habitual treachery of the parties, I allowed myself, like many others, to be most completely deceived. Fortunately, however, a great many of the English had gone away: and the First Consul found himself so disappointed in the numbers

bers

bers that remained, that I question much whether, if he had known it, he would have incurred the odium of their detention.

Be that as it may, on the 22d of May, ten days after the departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris, appeared the following decree :

“ All the English enrolled in the militia between the age of eighteen and sixty, or who hold commissions from his Britannic Majesty, now in France, shall be immediately constituted prisoners of war, to answer for the citizens of the republic, who may have been detained, or made prisoners, by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty before the declaration of war.”

Paris, 2d Praireal, year xi.

22d May 1803.

This decree nominally only comprehended persons holding commissions in the

army and navy, or capable of being enrolled in the Militia ; *i. e.* males from eighteen to sixty years of age ; for this was the colouring which the French government wished might be given to it in other countries *. But in reality it was extended to persons of all descriptions, old and young, male and female.

It was at first pretended that women and children were exempted from the measure. Against this I can only state the evidence of facts. Lady Elgin, upon applying for a passport, was refused, and afterwards many other ladies. I have myself seen boys of ten and twelve years of age sent from one

* In speaking of the decrees and other contents of the French journals, let me here give a general caution to the reader. I can assure him that he will be much nearer the truth, if he considers them as the expression of what the French government wish should be understood in other countries to be their orders or intentions, than if he understands them literally as conveying matters of fact.

public office to another, and refused passports, because they had not *written* certificates of their ages. It was the first instance I ever saw of ocular demonstration being thought insufficient to prove that an infant is not a boy, or that a boy is not a man. Had the exemption even been general and effective, it could have been of little or no use; for wives would not have chosen to leave their husbands, nor parents to part with their children.

The prisoners in general were sent to Fontaine Bleau, Valenciennes, Melun, Nismes, Verdun, Challons, and other places. They were allowed a certain range to walk in, upon giving their parole not to go away. In this situation, those who had the means of subsistence were not ill off. But, by being removed from Paris, and the other places of their usual residence, to the general depots, those, who had to derive their means of subsistence from labour, were reduced to the utmost distress, and left to starve,

starve, some of them with numerous families of children.

Did the French government afford any succour to such of these men as had actually established their residence in France? Not a *sous*. But what cares Bonaparte, who affects to do every thing *en grande*, for the starvation of a few thousand individuals? I am happy to learn, since my arrival in this country, that the English government, in consequence of the representations of Mr. Robson, have humanely sent two thousand pounds for the relief of these unfortunate people : and this sum will, no doubt, be farther increased, as otherwise it cannot afford them effectual assistance. But a private subscription, if properly conducted, would perhaps be the best manner of procuring funds adequate to their wants. Their case, as men in whose persons the laws of nations and the rights of hospitality have been grossly and basely violated, ought powerfully to interest the feelings not only of the

English public, but of the people and governments of other countries, in their favour. It is a case, which comes home to them all. The Austrians, Russians and Prussians, resident in France, may to-morrow, if it suits the whim of the tyrant, be placed in the same situation. If a committee of respectable gentlemen were to undertake this task, their efforts, I am persuaded, would be attended with the most complete success, and in the satisfaction, which would result from utility, they would find an abundant reward.

The execution of this execrable decree was conducted in the most loose and inconsiderate manner. Those were sent to one depot, who ought to have been sent to another, as having friends or acquaintances in the latter; those were sent away from their places of residence, who, had there been any rational system, would have been allowed to remain, and those were allowed to remain who would have been sent away.

Every

Every thing depended upon chance, whim, and caprice. There was a total absence of that polite consideration, which used to distinguish the French people, even while they were committing acts of injustice. Lord Elgin was treated with marked incivility ; and a degree of harshness, unprecedented excepting in the reign of terror, pervaded the whole proceedings. In remote parts, where the constituted authorities think they cannot act too vigorously in the spirit of their superiors, there was still more severity and less consideration. I cannot help observing, that while General Junot was amusing himself, keeping Englishmen of distinction dancing attendance upon him, from day to day, and from week to week, I have seen him receive common soldiers with affability, and hasten, not simply to comply with, but even to anticipate, their wishes. This *may* be policy, but it certainly is *not* manners.

I never met with even a Frenchman, who attempted to justify this decree of Bonaparte upon any other grounds than that of retaliation. It is in violence and indecency, in my opinion, second to none, excepting that of Robespierre for giving no quarter to the English. With sorrow and abhorrence I read, on the continent, that some persons on this side the water had gravely debated the question: "Whether quarter should not be refused to the French in the event of their invading this country?" There are some questions that do not, in my opinion, admit of a debate; and this is certainly one of them. What! Is there a man existing, of a truly English mind, who can think that, in order to repel all the power of France, or even all the power of Europe, it can be anywise necessary for us to resort to such unusual, barbarous and disgraceful means of warfare? All such propositions, in my opinion, indicate a poorness of spirit, and a want of just confidence in our strength.

But,

But, to return from this digression, the French themselves only attempt to palliate the enormity of this decree, by alledging that it is a retaliation for the detention of the ships and crews belonging to France, which were stopped in England before the declaration of hostilities.

Without entering into the merits or demerits of this practice generally, it is very evident that the two measures, as applied to the present circumstances, have no kind of similarity. In England no false expectations of protection were held out, either by the government or the public, to the captains or crews of the ships in the English harbours. They knew, or ought to have known, that it is the custom in England (right or wrong is not here the question), as soon as the government have determined on war, to lay an embargo on all vessels belonging to the enemy, in their ports. They ought to have gone away in time. Farther, the detention of ships and crews is

attended with some advantage, in as far as it is a transfer of property, and of the means of warfare.

The detention of the English travellers in France, as prisoners of war, is, on the contrary, not only the grossest violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hospitality, that has ever been committed in any country pretending to civilization ; but it had the farther peculiarity of having been accompanied or preceded by circumstances of the vilest treachery and deceit. The Parisian journals, which dared not to have done it without the positive orders of the government, took the greatest pains to persuade the English, not to go away, giving them every possible encouragement to expect a continuance of hospitality and protection. If they had attained their object of inducing the bulk of the English to stay, they would no doubt have afterwards exulted in a trait, of which almost any other nation would have been ashamed, of treachery so consummate,

mate. In short this *unique* decree had no one circumstance of advantage to the perpetrators to recommend it; and, as is now very generally supposed, could have had no motive or object, but the gratification of private or personal resentments.

By a late order, all the persons so constituted prisoners, who remain in France, have been transferred to Verdun and Challons, some say into the citadels of these places. They were obliged to maintain, and to pay half a crown a day to each of the dragoons who accompanied them on the journey. Even clerks in counting houses have not been spared.

The number of English travellers detained in France, there is reason to believe, never exceeded a thousand, although the French journals exulted in having entrapped six or eight thousand of them. The following list contains such names as have come to my knowledge. They amount to
nearly

nearly two hundred ; and I do not believe that as many more could be collected, unless we were to include all the tradesmen who were already established in France.

NAMES OF ENGLISH TRAVELLERS, WHO
HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN FRANCE,
AS PRISONERS OF WAR.

The Marquis and Marchioness of Tweedale,
The Earl of Elgin and Lady Elgin,
The Earl of Yarmouth,
Lord and Lady Mountcashel and family,
Sir J. Morshed,
Sir James Craufurd,
Sir James De Bath,
Sir Thomas Clavering,
Sir Thomas Wallace,
Hon. M. and Mrs. Annesley,
Hon. Lieut. Col. Annesley,
Hon. G. Hamilton, son of Lord Boyne,
Hon J. Blaquiere, son of Lord de Bla-
quiere,

Hon.

Hon. Mr. Eardley,

Hon. Henry Tufton, } brothers to Lord
 Hon. Edward Tufton, } Thanet.

Colonel Abercromby,

Colonel Moore,

Colonel Macleod,

Colonel Stack,

Lieut. Col. Tindale, Life-Guards,

Lieut. Col. Bradford,

Lieut. Col. and Mrs. Cope,

Major Burke,

Major and Miss Ramfay,

Captain Leveson Gower, Lieutenants Lambert and Douglas, and other officers of his Majesty's ship Shannon *,

Captain Brenton, Hon. Mr. Walpole, Mr. Cutler and Mr. Dacre, of his Majesty's ship Minerva *,

Captains Cary and Bannatyne,

* These ships were not taken in any engagement by the enemy; they fell a prey to them by having had the misfortune of being first vanquished by the elements.

Captains Gerard and Combe, of the marines,

Captain Congreve,

Captain Owens,

Captain Power,

Lieut. Prescott, R. N. and Mrs. Prescott,

Lieutenants Brown and Nanney, R. N.

Lieut. George,

Rev. Robert Wolfe and Mrs. Wolfe,

Rev. Mr. White of Lancaster,

Rev. Dr. Smith,

Dr. May,

Dr. David,

Dr. Lloyd,

Dr. and Mrs. Hewetson,

Dr. Macnabb,

Dr. Ryan,

Mr. and Mrs. Olive,

Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of Jamaica,

Mr. Mrs. and Miss Forbes,

Mr. Mrs. and Miss Sibbald,

Mr. Mrs. and Miss Tuthill,

Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn,

Mr. Nichols and family,

Mr.

Mr. and Mrs. Giffard,
Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher,
Mr. Mrs. and Miss Fiott,
Mr. and Mrs. Aufrere,
Mr. and Mrs. Leigh,
Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson,
Mr. and Mrs. Ritso,
Mr. and Mrs. Dare,
Mr. and Mrs. Power,
Mr. and Mrs. Greathead,
Mr. and Mrs. Kennet,
Mrs. Douglas,
Mrs. Palmér,
Mr. and Mrs. Davies,
Mr. and Mrs. Boyd and family,
Mr. Sturt, M. P.
Mr. Knox,
Mr. Estwick,
Mr. Duff,
Mr. Concannon,
Mr. Blackmore,
Mr. Green,
Mr. Light,
Mr. Goodman,

Mr.

Mr. Warwick,
Mr. Ainsley,
Mr. Le Mesurier,
Mr. Gould,
Mr. Halpin,
Mr. Pigott,
Mr. Rowley,
Mr. Otto,
Mr. Wilbraham,
Mr. Dale,
Mr. Sharpe,
Mr. Cary,
Mr. Trevor,
Mr. Holland, sen. and jun.
Mr. Balgrove, sen. and jun.
Mr. Lawrence, sen. and jun.
Mr. Cupans,
Mr. Pinckerton,
Mr. Manning,
Mr. May,
Mr. Later,
Mr. Fagen,
Mr. M'Taggart,
Mr. Garlias,

Mr.

Mr. Le Souef,
Mr. Hautenville,
Mr. Colombine,
Mr. De Jerfey,
Mr. Wilmot,
Mr. Priestley,
Mr. Wigney,
Mr. Tilt,
Mr. Taylor,
Mr. Chetham,
Mr. Garland,
Mr. Fulk,
Mr. Devenish,
Mr. Wetherdown,
Mr. Roche,
Mr. Brown, sen. and jun.
Mr. Ryan,
Mr. Benfield,
Mr. Ridman,
Mr. Este,
Mr. R. Campbell,
Mr. Mountney,
Mr. Smith,
Mr. Hurry,

Mr.

Mr. Benfon,
Mr. Pringle.
Mr. Whalley,

The following Persons obtained permission to return to England :

Dowager Marchionness of Donegal,
Lady Ancram,
Two Miss Godfreys
R. B. Robson Esq.
James Green Esq.
Mr. Alexander Gerard, and
Mr. William Jackson.

THE ARGUS, or LONDON REVIEWED IN
PARIS.

This Journal, printed in the English language at Paris, is supposed by most Frenchmen, particularly when they read quotations from it in the French Journals, to be really printed in England ; and hence they give more consequence to the lies it contains.

tains. It is under the special superintend-
 ance, and indeed is the property of the
 French Government. The principal con-
 ductor, after Talleyrand Perigord, is Citi-
 zen Hauterive, who claims the merit of
 having, by the force of his logic, occasion-
 ed the armed neutrality of the North. The
 subordinate labourers are English or Irish
 emigrants, who, since the commencement
 of the paper, a very few months ago, have
 been frequently changed, or resigned their
 offices. Talleyrand, Hauterive, and Co., it
 would seem, can find no coadjutors of the
 United Kingdom to remain long in their
 service.

The attempt to pass quotations from the
 Argus on the French people, as quotations
 from an English paper, is, in the true spirit
 of *fineffe*, so well known to the French Go-
 vernment. That it should be attended with
 even a partial success, is a proof of the ig-
 norant and deluded state to which the un-
 fortunate inhabitants of that country have

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been

been reduced by their rulers, in respect to every article of public information.

CURIOUS REASON FOR IMPRISONMENT IN A DUNGEON.

A man, well known on the turf in England, whose name I cannot at this moment recollect, was imprisoned either in the Bicetre or St. Pelagie in Paris, and kept for a long time *en secret*. He was not allowed to have any communication with his banker, who did not know what had become of him, and could not therefore supply him with money, although he had funds for that purpose in his hands. After some months, however, this restriction was taken off, and he was allowed to emerge from his cell and bed of straw. He then related to some English gentlemen, with whom he had an opportunity of conversing, that his imprisonment arose from the following circumstance :

A French-

A Frenchman of some fortune, who had been in England, took a fancy to a horse belonging to this person. He said, if he would deliver the horse in Paris, he would agree to pay the price of five hundred pounds for him. The bargain was struck. The horse arrived in Paris. The Frenchman receded from his bargain. The Englishman got angry ; and fruitless altercations ensued. Meeting with this Frenchman one day, coming from the Second Consul's, after dinner, the Englishman again addressed him with remonstrances ; but, finding these could produce no effect, was proceeding to use arguments of a more powerful nature, when the other took to his heels, and sought refuge in Cambaceres's house.

The Second Consul was violently offended. The Englishman was next day arrested, conveyed to prison, immured in a solitary cell, and accommodated with a naked bed of straw. This fact I had information of through an undoubted channel.

BARRAS, REWBEL, and LA REVEILLIERE
LEPAUX.

These three ex-directors, whom the public of France now almost begin to regret, are living in retirement, if not obscurity.

Barras resides at Brussels, and is supposed to have squandered a great part of the wealth which he had acquired while in power. He has, however, still enough remaining to retain some creatures and dependants: and it is not improbable that, in case of any meditated change, he may, from his reputation for intrepidity, be called again into action as the chief of a party. It is said that, previous to Bonaparte's visit to Brussels, it was intimated to Barras that it would be agreeable to the Consul if he withdrew from the town during his residence in it.

Rewbel

Rewbel lives in Paris, and has also got a country house in its neighbourhood. He has purchased several estates in the departments on the left bank of the Rhine, and is wallowing in wealth ; but thinks it politic to observe a plainness in his dress, equipage, and mode of living. I have frequently seen him and his *ci-devant queen*, a lady, not of the most delicate texture, driving in an old shabby looking chariot, with a pair of stout, clumsy, pye-bald horses. A few months ago a letter, not of the most respectful kind, which had, on some occasion, been written by *Rewbel* to *Madame Bonaparte*, found its way into circulation in Paris. It was immediately seized by superior authority. *Rewbel* was attacked in the journals. He confessed his having been the author of the letter, but denied having any knowledge of its publication.

La Reveilliere Lepaux, although a fanatic, is not, like most of his former colleagues, either a plunderer, or endowed with a cruel

disposition. He lives at present, as he did during his directorship, in a modest retirement, enjoying the society and esteem of his family and friends. He always declined, or affected to decline, patronage and influence: and as we have no reason to doubt his integrity, we have only to regret that he had not sufficient wisdom to decline the honour of being enrolled among colleagues with whom humanity was held in derision, and integrity esteemed a crime. This ex-director, more weak than criminal, was over-persuaded by his colleagues to consent to the invasion of Switzerland. Afterwards, when he discovered that the Swiss were, in their religion, manners, and political institutions, the virtuous children of nature, he was sorry for having participated in the crime of communicating to them so large a portion of the evils of the French revolution. The ridicule deservedly thrown upon his theo-philanthropic system of religion, ought not to prevent the historian from

from doing justice to the good intentions of
La Reveilliere Lepaux.

REMNANT OF THE BRISSOTINE PARTY.

This unfortunate party, once in possession of sovereign sway in France, were originally 32 in number, when they met in a club in the *palais royal*. There are now only *two* of them remaining, Sieyes and Ræderer; certainly not the most respectable members of the party. The Abbé has retired into obscurity since the 18th of Brumaire, after having gained an estate from Bonaparte, and lost his reputation with the public. His intentions with regard to liberty are generally believed to be good; but apprehensions for his personal safety are supposed to absorb every other consideration.

With respect to Ræderer, he has been an avowed and active tool of Bonaparte. In

every succession of parties, indeed, he has been considered by the public what the French call an *intrigant*: and perhaps this reputation, together with his merit in acting, have been the means of his salvation. In the struggles of parties, the opposite factions do not look to the conversion of the honest part of their antagonists, but of the unsound and intriguing: in revolutions like that of France, and indeed in revolutions in general, it is therefore the most honest men of the falling parties who are successively cut off. If, of the Girondists or Brissotines, but two, out of thirty-two members, have survived, we may calculate nearly in the same proportion respecting other parties; so that perhaps of all, who took a conspicuous and active part in the French revolution, not above one in fifteen or sixteen is now alive; and these in all probability the most despicable of the whole. It might be worth the trouble of any man, who has leisure and opportunity to make a minute statement and calculation on this subject,

subject, to undertake the task. If well executed, it could not fail to prove instructive to the world.

It might naturally be expected that the memory of men, who had distinguished themselves in the revolution, although they had fallen victims to party struggles, should be respected by revolutionists; and that this respect should be transferred in some measure to their families. But that is not the case in France. There, more than in any other country, success alone is virtue, and failure alone is vice. While the family of Ræderer is rolling in wealth and influence, that of Brissot is consigned to poverty and neglect. I have seen the widow of this celebrated deputy attending, like an excellent mother, to the duties of educating a fine family of children; and endeavouring to forget, in the name of Warville, every trace of the power and influence which she once enjoyed in Paris, as Madame Brissot. Ma-
dame

dame de Warville is happier, and deserves to be so, than Madame Bonaparte.

BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE.

One of the most interesting persons I have seen in France, is the venerable octogenarian, Bernardin de St. Pierre, so well known as the friend of Rousseau, and the author of the agreeable novel of Paul and Virginia. When I first went to Paris, I saw him in the Louvre, where he had apartments. But of this indulgence, as well as of every other, he has been deprived by the consular government, and he now resides in private lodgings in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*. He is too honest a man to be useful to those at present in power in France: but men who affect to honour science and letters should, for the sake of the consistency which they pretend, have continued to patronize this venerable man in the decline of
a life

a life so usefully and respectably employed.

He has got two beautiful children, by a former marriage, whom he calls *Paul* and *Virginia*. They are both educated in the utmost simplicity of nature, and are remarkable for virtuous propensities, and a total absence of guile or deceit. I could not help contemplating those sweet children, with mixed sensations of pleasure and compassion, foreboding the calamities which, from a mistaken and too virtuous education, they will probably have to suffer in their progress through life.

Bernardin de St. Pierre is again married to a young woman of four or five and twenty, the daughter of a *ci-devant* nobleman; and is likely to have a farther increase of his family. He continues a member of the national institution, a dignity of which the government cannot decently deprive him.

HELEN

HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS,

Who has resided in Paris during the greatest part of the revolution, published, in August or September last, a work said to be a correspondence of Lewis XVI. Some persons, ignorant of the manner in which these letters got into Miss Williams's possession, affected to doubt their authenticity, as formerly happened in this country with respect to the celebrated poems of Ossian. But the public in general seem to receive them as genuine productions of the late king of France.

The publication of them, it would appear, had given umbrage to members of the French government; for even after having received the usual sanction of authority, their circulation was prohibited, and they were seized by the police. After some lapse of time, however, and probably the
alteration

alteration of the obnoxious pages or paragraphs, the work was restored, and allowed to be put again into circulation. I have not had an opportunity of comparing a copy of the French edition with that which has been published in England, in order to ascertain what degree of truth there may be in this conjecture. It may be worthy the attention of the curious, as leading to the knowledge of some interesting facts or conclusions respecting the politics of the day.

THE MANNER IN WHICH I OBTAINED MY PASSPORT.

For several weeks after the promulgation of the decree against the English, I remained without appearing, in conformity with the terms of it, before the constituted authorities. This I did for two reasons,—1st, because I wished to avoid being sent to Fontainebleau; and, 2dly, because in France every measure being at present the result of
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the whim of the moment, I was not without hopes of some change in the consular resolves respecting us, or at least some diminution of the rigour with which they were, in the beginning, carried into execution.

But when accounts were received that the British government had refused to acknowledge us as prisoners of war, I began to think that we might be detained in France, until the re-establishment of peace, if we could not individually contrive some means of effecting our escape. This I did not choose to attempt clandestinely, as, having *before the war* been rather active in expressing my enmity to the measures of the tyrant, I would not *now* afford him a pretext for ordering me into close confinement. It required much reflection to decide upon the most probable means of procuring, in a regular manner, my liberation. This, at first view, did not appear a very easy task for a man, who had little money, few friends, and from his freedom of speech
had

had made a considerable number of enemies in Paris. I, however, after consultation with a most ingenious friend, formed my plan ; and, on the fifth of July, founding my pretensions on the memorial I had presented to the minister of the interior last year, and the patronage which the French government are desirous of appearing to confer on science, addressed the grand judge as follows :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GRAND
JUDGE, MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

“ Citizen Grand Judge,

“ The misfortunes and animosities of war have often been forgotten by governments, when opportunities have occurred of protecting scientific researches ; and it is with pleasure I read in the public papers, that motives of this kind have lately occasioned the release of the French ship *la Naturaliste*, in England.

“ Although

“ Although an Englishman *, I bear neither civil nor military commission ; and I have not inhabited England for ten years. My profession is medical. Researches on the nature of diseases called contagious, have for a long time formed the principal object of my pursuits. I have been occupied for ten years, in making experiments on several sorts of malignant fevers in both the Indies ; and in effect, I only require a few experiments more to complete a work, which is already far advanced, on epidemic and pestilential diseases.

“ The Minister of the Interior’s letter, which I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency, will prove the truth of what I advance. The favourable manner in which that minister received a memorial I had the honour of presenting to him, on this subject, last year, deserves

* Abroad, English, Irish, and Scotch, are indiscriminately called Englishmen.

my praise. At this moment it is with regret that I am prevented by the general measure, which has just been adopted against the English, from continuing researches, of which, I flatter myself, the results might prove useful to all nations. But I cannot doubt that the French government, as soon as they are informed of it, will view with a favourable eye, my zeal for the progress of science, and the good of humanity; and that they will grant me a passport, by virtue of which I may freely pursue my researches. With this view I take the liberty of confidently addressing your Excellency.

“ Greeting and respect.”

To which I received the following answer:

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THE CHIEF OF THE SIXTH DIVISION
OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT, TO
MR. CHARLES MACLEAN, ENGLISH
PHYSICIAN, PRISONER AT PARIS.

“ The Grand Judge, Sir, has transmitted to the Minister at War the letter, in which you request to be freed from your parole *, and liberty to pursue freely throughout the republic † the researches necessary to complete your work on epidemic diseases.

* I had never been on parole, nor was ever visited from the police, till I made myself known to them, by applying to the Grand Judge.

† This is another mistake; for I had never asked for liberty to pursue my researches throughout the republic *only*: it was, however, probably a wilful mistake; for I believe the members of the government in general were so much ashamed of the decree against the English, that they only wished for a decent pretext to allow individuals an opportunity of departing without giving them express permission.

“ That

“ That minister charges me to acquaint you, that he cannot determine respecting your demand, without having documents laid before him proving that it is ten years since you have resided in England, and the precise period of your arrival in France.

“ He requests you to transmit them as soon as as possible.

“ I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) GOUTHOUZ.”

Paris, 13 Thermidor, an xi.

I had now rather a difficult task : for although it was undoubtedly true that, during the last ten years, I had been only a few weeks in England, yet it was not an easy matter to produce proofs of the fact. Precisely at this period, I had the good fortune to meet with a French surgeon in the *Palais Royal*, whom I had formerly known in India. He was very glad to see me :

“ *Ab ! Mon cher docteur, c’est vous ;*” and hugged me vehemently in the old French style of salutation : “ *Mon cher confrere,*” said I, defending myself however as well as I could from his embraces, “ I am rejoiced to meet with you once more on this side of the Styx. How doth it fare with you ? *Comme vous voyez ;* but if you will walk home with me, I will tell you the particulars, and will introduce you to my wife.” With all my heart ; and we walked to the *Rue Jean Jaques Rousseau*. I could not all this while recollect the name of my new-found friend ; but did not choose to hurt his feelings by seeming to have forgotten it. On our arrival, however, at the door, I read in large characters, on a board :

B***** CHIRURGIEN ET ACCOUCHEUR.

Citizen B***** had been surgeon of a privateer, captured in the Straights of Sunda, by a squadron commanded by Commodore Sir Charles Mitchell, in 1793, in

which squadron I had the honour to act. Having rendered himself and his ship-mates some services, such as the ordinary duties of humanity required, he was now very desirous of repaying the obligation. "What can I do to serve you?" Come with me to the grand judge, and tell him how I behaved to your countrymen, who were our prisoners at Batavia. This worthy son of *Æsculapius* immediately accompanied me to the grand judge, with a physician of his acquaintance, whom I afterwards found had been physician to Robespierre, and is now physician to some of the principal members of the consular government. It happened the levy of the grand judge was on that day very full: there were upwards of a hundred people in the antichamber. When it came to our turn to be noticed, I presented my memorial with a modest inclination of the head, the physician made an eloquent harangue in my favour after the manner of the ancients, and the honest surgeon and man-

midwife, taking the grand judge by one of the buttons of his robe, made my eulogium in rather more laconic terms : “ *Monseigneur,*” said he, in a tone of uncommon animation, “ *il a sauvé la vie à trois cent François.*” At this declaration, so unexpected to myself, the eyes of all the people in the room were turned upon me, and I could not help blushing. The grand judge, bowing to me with a look of complacency, said, *C’est très bien, Monsieur*; and turning to his clerk, desired him to make a report on my case in four-and-twenty hours.

This I confess to have been a grateful moment in my life. But our business was not now with the grand judge. Being considered a prisoner of war, my memorials were all referred to the war department. With the testimony of citizen B*****, that of a German friend, who was then in Paris, of my residence in Germany, and some other chronological documents, I succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of the minister

minister at war, that I had not resided for ten years in England. He accordingly ordered General Junot to erase my name from the list of prisoners (where by the bye it had never been enrolled); with which decision I was made acquainted in the following letter :

“ The minister charges me, to inform you, Sir, that he has authorised the general of the first division to erase you from the list of prisoners of war, that you might be enabled to pursue freely, throughout the republic, the researches for which you have occasion, in order to complete your work on epidemic and pestilential diseases.

“ I greet you.

(Signed) GOUTHOUZ.”

15th Fructidor, year xi.

With this I went to General Junot, and got my certificate of radiation. While I was with him, he signed a passport for a

Mr. Benfield, whom I understood to be of the house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co., to go by Calais to Hamburg. This struck me as a destination altogether singular; and I concluded it was in effect a passport to go to London. But nothing ought to surprise in Paris.

With the certificate of General Junot, that I was erased from the list of prisoners, I went again to the grand judge, who immediately gave orders to write to the prefect of police to grant me a passport. Considering that I was now no longer a prisoner, I thought I had a right to get a passport to go where I pleased: but as I did not judge it entirely consistent with sound policy, to ask leave to go straight to England, I demanded one for the united states of America, which was forthwith granted, on condition, however, that I should embark at Bourdeaux only. My passport was dated the fourth complimentary day, or the 20th of September, and allowed me six decades,

eades, or two months to quit the territory of the republic.

FIRST DAY OF THE REPUBLICAN YEAR.

On the 23d of September, or the first day of the republican year, I went to see the annual *fête* and illuminations at the Tuilleries: but what I was most anxious to observe, before my departure from France, was the degree of popularity enjoyed by the First Consul: and of this I had very satisfactory proof. As the band of music began to play, Bonaparte came forward, for the first time he had ventured on such a measure, into the balcony where the kings of France used to sit upon similar occasions. The second and third consul, with some of the ministers, were standing like lacqueys behind him. Not a word of applause was heard in any quarter. At the end of every piece of music there was a clapping of hands. The whole time the music was playing,

playing, the First Consul seemed to sit upon thorns. He moved his chair backwards and forwards, first to one side and then to the other, bit his nails, and used various gestures indicating a considerable degree of agitation. At last, the music being ended, he got up, advanced to the front of the balcony, made three of the most ungracious bows I ever saw, and withdrew. One solitary voice behind me cried out, *Vive Bonaparte!* which so much excited the merriment of the crowd, that the individual, who had thus distinguished himself, was obliged to retire in shame and confusion from the place. The consuls having withdrawn, three lacqueys came into the balcony to take away the chairs, upon which a very general clapping of hands, shouting, and laughing were heard among the crowd, as if in open derision. The scene, upon the whole, was such as must have proved highly mortifying to the feelings of his consular majesty.

REAL CAUSE OF THE WAR; AND
THE CONSEQUENCES TO THE WORLD
OF THE SUCCESS OF ENGLAND OR
FRANCE.

Whatever may be the pretext alledged for the renewal of the war, it cannot be doubted that, on the side of England, the real motive was the inordinate ambition displayed, since the treaty of Amiens, by the consular government of France. The pretext ostentatiously held forth by Bonaparte is the non-fulfilment of treaties; but his real motive is to destroy the power, the independence, and the liberties of England, and consequently to destroy the power, the independence, and the liberties of all the nations of the world; or in other words, to establish an universal despotism. Bonaparte has, ever since the cessation of hostilities between the two countries, been

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endeavouring to make the cause of England appear, on the continent, as distinct from that of the other nations of Europe. He has laboured with considerable address, and in some degree not without success, to persuade the continental powers that England, being geographically excluded, should be also politically excluded, from every connection with the rest of Europe. While he was pillaging with his troops, or regulating by his influence the interior of almost every nation on the continent, he gravely told them that he was only conferring favours, and that all they had to fear was from the English usurping the dominion of the sea, and overrunning Asia.

To England he has said, in effect, " You have no right whatever to interfere in the regulation of political affairs on the continent; that is my province exclusively. In whatever manner I may choose to regulate the affairs of Helvetia, Holland, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, that is no concern

cern of yours. If I should even appoint custom-house and revenue officers in all these countries, and exclude your manufactures from their markets, it is your duty submissively to acquiesce, and to consider them still as neutral powers. You have no right whatever to meddle with any thing which I have not expressly permitted in the treaty of Amiens. The treaty of Amiens, all the treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens!"

He has not even said, observing the liberality of a common robber: "I will command wherever I can send soldiers: do you command wherever you can send ships." No! The sum of his reasoning is this: "I will command wherever I can send soldiers; but you must divide the dominion of the seas with the lowest of my vassals." With respect to relinquishing any of his usurpations on the continent, that was not to be spoken of, unless Eng-
land

land would consent previously to relinquish all her acquisitions in the East Indies.

Could any thing be more insufferably insulting to all the powers of Europe than this conduct? While it contained, with respect to England, more than sufficient cause of war, (it is not necessary to advert to his subsequent attempts upon the freedom of parliamentary debate and the liberty of the press, constituting of themselves sufficient grounds of hostility,) it no doubt must have occasioned serious reflections among all the sovereigns of Europe: and these reflections must have taught them that the dominion of the sea, as established by England, is little more than a bugbear, while usurpation by land, such as that of Bonaparte over the nations of the continent, is necessarily accompanied by the most serious misery and oppression. They will also perceive that, while the usurpations of this ambitious despot, are incompatible with

with the independence of any continental nation of Europe; the conquests of the English in the East Indies, of which he has so bitterly complained, are of real benefit to the natives of that country, without being an injury to any other people. Neither can they fail to draw the obvious conclusion, that the success of England, in this great struggle, far from having any unfavourable effect on the independence of the continental nations of Europe, would be the means of restoring that large portion of it which they have already lost, while the success of France would infallibly carry with it the loss of the remainder. And this conclusion will forcibly enjoin the policy of sacrificing all subordinate considerations, in order to unite heart and hand against the common enemy of the independence of nations.

JOURNEY FROM PARIS TO BOURDEAUX.

It was more than three weeks after I had obtained my passport before I was enabled to leave Paris. Being at length prepared for the journey, I took a place in the diligence, which sets off from the *Rue de Bouloy*, for Bourdeaux. The price of the place was 72 livres, or 3*l.* Sterling; apparently a very moderate sum for 164 leagues, or about 410 English miles. This is certainly one of the cheapest roads in France. But if we compare it with the rate of travelling in England, making allowance for difference of celerity and comfort, it will appear extravagantly dear. In a French journey, the expences on the road are, from the length of time, necessarily more considerable than in an English one. If seven days be required to travel from Paris to Bourdeaux, a distance of 410 miles, while
the

the journey from London to Edinburgh, being nearly 500 miles, is performed in about 60 hours, and if the price be as 3 to 5, we shall find that the rate of travelling in England is not only absolutely cheaper than in France in respect to distance, but that it is farther attended with an immense saving of time, even to two-thirds.

On the 11th of October, at noon, I repaired to the diligence office, *Rue de Bouloy*, where I found my fellow-travellers assembled, and ready to take possession of their places. The noise and confusion, issuing from the groupe of males, females, children, dogs, and horses, collected in the yard, formed a concert which was not of the most melodious kind. After having seen my baggage disposed of, I began to reconnoitre the surrounding faces. One of them, whom I recollected to have often seen, I took the liberty of accosting : Your face, sir, is very familiar to me, but I cannot recollect where

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I have

I have had the pleasure of seeing you. “ I am a very public man, Sir ; I am the apothecary, who lives opposite to the church of Saint Roche.” Are we to be favoured with your company in the diligence ? “ No, Sir ; but that young man, my son, has taken a place in it for Bordeaux. He is going as far as Bayonne, and will perhaps visit England before he returns.” In that case, Sir, your son and I may be better acquainted. “ He has already been in your country, and speaks your language tolerably well.”

By this time the vehicle being ready, our names were called over, and every one took his place according to seniority ; *i. e.* the person whose name was first inscribed in the books of the office was entitled to the first place, and so in rotation. But there being women and children, politeness, as well as humanity, required an infringement of this regulation. Those who were entitled to the best places made a voluntary surrender

surrender of their rights. It somewhat surprised me that no passports were asked for on this occasion.

Passing through Paris to the *barriere de l'observatoire*, at a slow and solemn pace, each of us seemed absorbed in his own reflections, and no one appeared desirous of interrupting the silence. At the prospect of quitting this gay capital, every one wore an expression of regret on his countenance; and for my own part, although there was nothing I more ardently desired than to leave the territories of the French republic, I could not help participating in these general feelings of the moment. In this state of mind, we proceeded for at least a couple of hours; but after having advanced some leagues into the country, the natural gaiety of the French character began to preponderate over all sensations of regret or sorrow, and a general conversation ensued.

Beside the passengers in the cabriolet, and on top, we were seven persons inside, three of whom were women. One of these females was dressed in men's cloaths : she was going to join her husband at Bordeaux. The two others had children on their knees, and were far gone with child.

The diligence, like most French vehicles of that kind, also carried goods. It was over-loaded and top-heavy. Our pace was about a league an hour. The first day passed without any particular accident. But on the second, in the morning, one of the wheels giving way, we were overturned, within five leagues of Orleans.

It was singular as well as fortunate, that no person, not even the women or children, were hurt. The accident, however, had some very unpleasant effects. We were detained ten hours in repairing the damages sustained ; and this detention deranged the
usual

usual regularity of arrivals and departures at every future stage, so that we had nothing good to eat, and scarcely any time to sleep, during the remainder of the journey.

It was early in the morning when our wheel broke, and we were obliged to send to Orleans to get a new one. In the mean time we proceeded to a village called Artenay, about a league from the place of our overthrow, where, after having got a coffee breakfast, some went to bed, and others to write to their friends at Paris.

After being refreshed by a few hours sleep, we had a very good dinner served up, which was the more remarkable as it was the only good one we had from Paris to Bordeaux. The carriage was repaired by the time we had finished our repast, and we set off a-fresh upon our journey. But it was past four o'clock, and we must pass through Orleans in the dark, a circumstance which we all very much regretted.

All therefore I can say of this city is, that it is about thirty leagues from Paris, contains 36,000 inhabitants, and is the chief town of the department of *La Loiret*.

A league an hour was dull travelling for a man, who wished for nothing more ardently than to quit the territories of the French republic. The conductor, although apparently very faithful to his employers, did not study their interests in effect; for he was fullen, impudent, and unaccommodating to the travellers. Our breakfasts, dinners, and suppers were bad, because, owing to the accident we had met with, we never arrived at the usual hours at those inns, where meals were kept in readiness for the passengers; and, when we did happen to get any thing comfortable, the conductor, anxious to make up for lost time, interrupted us much too soon with a summons to depart. The manœuvres of the children in the coach, rendered it frequently necessary to open the windows; and the
cold

cold rendered it as often necessary to shut them.

These circumstances occasioned many disputes which, however, always terminated in a laugh or a bon-mot. Inconveniences, which in England would be deemed serious grievances, the French, like good practical philosophers, endeavour to turn into subjects of merriment. They would do still better, however, if they would also endeavour to abolish them. For the benefit of our successors on the road to Bordeaux, I was happy to learn, from some of my companions, that it was in contemplation to make the carriage of goods and the carriage of travellers henceforth two distinct branches of commerce throughout the republic, and that, for the latter of these branches, eighty diligences, upon a new construction, were actually building at Paris.

The most conspicuous of our company was a Gascon, about 45 years of age, who had been a purveyor of hospitals in Saint

Domingo, and was now going in the same capacity to the army of Bayonne. He wrangled with the conductor, kept the children in order, took care of one of the women, and on various occasions rendered his knowledge of purveying useful to our community. His pronunciation was so very strongly provincial as to excite the risibility of a foreigner, and his surprise, if he had only been accustomed to the Parisian dialect. They differ more remarkably from each other than the broadest Scotch or Irish does from the English spoken in London. The Gascon was endowed with a quickness of imagination and a volubility of tongue, which did not permit him to give any quarter to the auditory organs of his companions. He literally gasconaded the whole way; but he lied with such rapidity and grace as to prove seldom tiresome.

The apothecary's son was a very promising young man, who had received an excellent education, and had none of the frivolity
which

which usually characterises a Parisian. He had been for some years in England, and for a considerable time in Berlin; so that in his habits he was a happy compound of the English, German, and French. I was sorry to see a young man so gifted, going to join the French armies as an apothecary of the third class. (*Un pharmacien de la troisième classe.*)

It happened that one of our female fellow-travellers, who was a native of the Mauritius, was related to a French family with whom I had been intimately acquainted. This circumstance afforded us a great fund for conversation.

The women entertained us, from time to time, with songs principally in derision of the First Consul. The chorus of one of them ended with the words: *le plus grand consul de la republique*; it contained puns upon Madame Bonaparte, which were not entirely of the most modest kind. It

It was remarkable that neither in the diligence, nor on the road, could it be perceived that the consular family had a single friend in the country.

We were, in one respect, singularly unfortunate : for of all the considerable towns between Paris and Bordeaux, we passed through none but *Angouleme* in the day time. It happened that our arrival at and departure from *Blois*, *Tours* and *Poitiers*, were either after sun-set, or before it was light in the morning.

Blois is the chief place of the department of *Loire et Cher*, and contains 13,000 inhabitants. *Tours* is the chief place of the department of *Indre et Loire*, and contains 22,000 inhabitants. They are both interesting from their situation. Of *Poitiers* I shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

The

The country between Orleans and Tours, along the beautiful banks of the Loire, is full of enchanting landscapes. A young gentleman of Poitiers, who had served in the royal army in Germany, and was one of our fellow-travellers, gave me a short history of some of the charming villas and *chateaux* in that quarter as we passed them. Among others he shewed me an elegant building, embosomed in wood, situated on the summit of a hill, on the left bank of the Loire. It appeared to be distant about two leagues from the road, which is on the right bank. "That *chateau*," said he, "before the revolution, belonged to the family of ——. They emigrated to avoid the common fate of the most worthy members of the community, who did not enter into all the fashionable excesses of the revolution. Their estate became what was called national property. The present heir to the inheritance, a lady, naturally desirous of returning to her country, had applied to the constituted authorities of the republic for permission. She even received

ceived the assurance that she might have her house and estate back, upon paying a certain sum to the nation.

“ Unfortunately for her, Citizen Chaptal, minister of the interior, had, in the mean time, seen and taken a fancy to the *chateau*. It is so charmingly situated, and commands so extensive a prospect along the beautifully winding banks of the Loire, that Citizen Chaptal (or perhaps his wife) determined to make the acquisition for the family. He purchased it upon easy terms from the republic ; and the lady, to whom it of right belonged, upon hearing the intelligence, has thought proper to relinquish her plan of returning for the present to France.”

The young man, who gave me this account, was evidently of good family and education. He spoke very freely in the diligence against the present order of things ; and did not scruple to treat the Gascon, as a man who, he was convinced, had been a violent

violent jacobin, and would be any thing that was fashionable for the moment. He and I frequently walked before in preference to remaining in the carriage, in order to enjoy the fresh air, and to be at liberty to converse the more freely. It was not difficult for us to keep pace with the diligence, if it should be so named.

He informed me that at *Poitiers*, the capital of the *ci-devant Poitu*, where he resided, the people were generally disaffected to the present government, and that the same spirit pervaded all that part of the country. I should not have been so forward to credit all he mentioned on this subject, knowing the bias of the human mind to believe what it wishes, had I not perceived that similar sentiments were generally prevalent on the road, and that no one, who was in a civil capacity, attempted to advocate the present order of things. Many of the *ci devant* nobility, he said, had retired to the town of *Poitiers*, on ac-

count of the cheapness of living in that part of the country.

Poitiers is at present the chief place of the department of *La Vienne*, and contains about eighteen thousand inhabitants. The society, as might naturally be supposed from the circumstances above mentioned, is of a superior kind. My companion, before we parted, told me his name, and invited me to supper with his family. But this polite invitation, having more need of repose than of supper, I declined ; and we separated with mutual good wishes. This young man has a mind uncommonly ardent and elevated ; and, together with much general information, seems to possess a considerable knowledge of military tactics. His activity and noble sentiments are to me a sure pledge that he will not be an idle spectator of the present contest ; and I cannot, for my soul, help entertaining a presentiment that we shall meet again, but not on the banks of the Loire.

Before

Before I left Paris, I had received offers of introductory letters, from a very worthy prelate of the ancient *regime*, to his friends at Poitiers, which, at any other time, I would have gladly accepted. But my object being to get as quietly and as speedily out of France as possible, I did not wish to form any new acquaintances, or to expose myself to any unnecessary delay.

We had some supper immediately upon our arrival at the inn, about eight o'clock in the evening, and did not delay a moment going to bed. This was the first regular sleep we had enjoyed since leaving Paris, being a period of four days. Between four and five o'clock in the morning we were awoke, and in half an hour afterwards departed, without being enabled to see the town.

Here we left the gentleman I have just mentioned, and two of the women with their children. The Gascon, the apothecary's

cary's son, the lady in man's apparel, and myself, remained in possession of the whole diligence to Angouleme, where we had to stop for a reinforcement of passengers. When we arrived it was very early in the morning, very cold, and nothing good was to be had for breakfast. We were detained at this place for several hours, the passengers, who were to arrive from town (we were in the suburbs), not being quite ready.

Tired of waiting, I sallied forth in quest of objects of curiosity ; but there was nothing, at that time of the morning, to be seen but an ill-built town and an extensive, but not a very rich, view of the surrounding country. This town is the chief place of the department of *La Charente*, and is supposed to contain above fourteen thousand inhabitants. It is built on the declivity of a hill, and the houses have all the awkwardness of antient architecture.

After

After waiting at least three hours, our travellers arrived. One of them, as appeared from the detention of the diligence on her account, was a lady of some influence in the place; she resided usually at Bordeaux, but frequently travelled backwards and forwards. On this occasion, as the landlady informed us, she was carrying some hundred guinea fowls for sale to town, which were all to be packed up in the basket and on the top of the coach*.

There were beside an elderly lady, upon whom the motion of the carriage had the same effect with the agitation of a vessel at sea; and a young manufacturer of the city, going to see the fair at Bordeaux, previous to his marriage with a lady of Angouleme.

It was early in the morning of the sixth day from Paris that we left Angouleme.

* I forgot how much she told me the carriage of these birds would amount to; but it was something considerable; and I was no longer surprised that we were detained three hours on account of their owner.

The country through which we travelled had by no means the fertile and well cultivated appearance of that which is watered by the Loire ; but living is cheap. The people, however, as we approached the sea, began to complain of the effects which the war had already produced.

This day, we met with a great number of waggons loaded with cotton and wool, which, upon enquiry, we found were destined for the low countries. Since navigation has been impeded by the war, the manufacturers of Brabant have been obliged to get their cotton and wool by land from Bordeaux. The additional expence of carriage, thus occasioned, if there were no other unfavourable circumstance, would be sufficient to preclude the manufactures of France from any kind of competition with those of Great Britain. It seems even probable that so great an augmentation in the price of raw materials, as must arise from a distant land-carriage, together with the diminished

minished sale for manufactured goods, owing to the circumstances of the war, and the want of capital and confidence generally prevalent in France, will occasion, in no long time, the total ruin of the cotton and woollen manufactures of that country. This is a lamentable consideration: but the people have the ambition of their government and their own blindness entirely to blame.

It was remarkable that the names of most of the towns or villages through which we passed between Angouleme and Bordeaux, terminate in *ac*,—Petignac, Reignac, Chersac, Cavignac, Cubzac. This termination, for which I shall leave ancient historians to account, is not peculiar to the department of *la Gironde*. It prevails in the department of *La Charente*, as in Blanzac, Hierzac, Rouillac, Broffac, Segonzac, and the well known town of Cognac, which, although it does not contain quite three thousand inhabitants, has the credit of supplying

plying the world with an immense quantity of excellent brandy. In that of *La Charente Inferieure*, as in Gemozac, Jonfac, Archiac. In that of *La Correze*, as in Meyniac, Sornac, Seilhac, Freignac, Donzenac, Juillac, Lubersac, Meyffac. A few are also to be found in the departments *De Cotes du Nord*, *La Dordagne*, *Du Lot*, *Lot et Garonne*, and *Lozere*.

From Carvignac to Cubzac, some of us, having set off on foot before the diligence, walked the whole stage, and had breakfasted before the rest arrived. In our walk we met with a party of sailors, going from Bayonne to Brest. Taking us also for sailors in the dark (it was between five and six o'clock in the morning), they hailed us, and said we should be too late, for that the privateer, being full manned, had already sailed. This was the Bellona privateer, which had become celebrated from her recent capture of the Lord Nelson East India-man.

man. We thanked them for their information, observing that mayhap we might get another ship, and wished them a good journey.

After sun-rise, as we approached the banks of the Dordogne, the eye was regaled with one of the most charming prospects I ever beheld. The vineyards and country-houses, situated on eminences and declivities, along the banks of that fine river, form some of the most picturesque and beautiful landscapes the human imagination can conceive. The vintage had this year been uncommonly abundant: in consequence of which, and of the war, both wine and brandy were plentiful and cheap.

This country, the department *De la Gironde*, forms part of what was formerly called Gascony. The Gascon Patois is a very curious and rather a harsh language, differing as much from the French as the Gaelic or Erse from the Scotch or English.

From Cubzac we had to cross the Dordogne. The ferry-boat was full of passengers of various descriptions, casks, sheep, horses, and men. From the jargon which was here spoken I could scarcely convince myself that I was not suddenly transported to some other country. French, although generally understood, was not spoken in common conversation by the passengers; and was almost exclusively confined to those of our own party, who were in the boat. The Gascon was quite at home. They pronounce the *r* with a burr, as in Northumberland. But what most attracted my notice was that the common people pronounce *b*, *v*, and *v*, *b*; *Libourne*, for instance, a town near Bordeaux, they pronounce *Livourne*, and *Livourne*, Leghorne in Italy, *Libourne*. A resident of Bordeaux, who crossed the ferry with us, when I first made this remark, denied the justice of it, so much had habit rendered him familiar with the practice. But after trying the experiment repeatedly with the boatmen and others, we

always

always found the same result: what was written *b* they uniformly pronounced *v*, and the contrary.

About one o'clock on the seventh day of our departure from Paris, we arrived on the banks of the Garonne opposite to the fine city of Bordeaux. The Garonne unites with the Dordogne, the river we had before passed, a few leagues below Bordeaux; the river composed by their junction takes the name of *La Gironde*, whence the name of the department.

Having nothing farther to do with the diligence, we were now to part. The lady in the male habit was met by her husband, who received her with open arms, and thanked the Gascon for his attentions. Several ferry-boats were crossing, into which, bidding each other adieu, we stepped, successively as we were ready. For my own part, as I do not like trouble, I allowed the conductor to consign me, like a bale of goods,

to his own hotel. It was the *Hotel de Sept Freres*, Rue de la *Petite Intendance*, whether I was accompanied by the son of the apothecary.

DISTANCE FROM PARIS TO BORDEAUX.

	Leagues.	Miles.
Paris to Orleans	29	72½
Orleans to Blois	14	35
Blois to Tours	15	37½
Tours to Poitiers	30	75
Poitiers to Angouleme	37	92½
Angouleme to Bordeaux	39	97½
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	164	410
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N. B. In the above table I have taken the French league at 2½ English miles ; and the number of leagues at the ordinary computation.

BORDEAUX

BORDEAUX

Is, in population, the second, and in commercial importance, the first, city of France. It contains upwards of 112,000 inhabitants; and is, for an ancient city, built with considerable regularity and taste. It resembles Glasgow in Scotland more than any other city of Great Britain. There are in some few places flag stones, which are not commonly to be met with in the towns of France. The streets are, however, in general very narrow.

Bordeaux, on the side next the river, resembles a crescent. It is divided into two parts, the old town or eastern end, and the new town or *Chartrons*. They are divided as it were by an ancient fort called *Chateau-trompette*. This fort is so useless for any purpose of defence against an enemy,

enemy, that it has long been in agitation to pull it down, in order to beautify the town. This might be the more easily effected that the price of the materials would more than pay the expence of demolition. From the delay, therefore, I conclude that some reasons of state are operating with the consular government in favour of this worthless building, which is a great nuisance to the centre of the city.

Bordeaux is celebrated throughout the world for its famous wines: it is celebrated as the chief place of a department, which, during the revolution, sent many distinguished deputies to the convention; and as the country of the illustrious Montesquieu. It has infinitely more of the spirit of freedom and independence than Paris, which may be attributed in a considerable degree to the benignant genius of commerce, here so powerful in its operation.

In this city, beside the native inhabitants, are a great many foreign merchants, of all nations; but principally English, Germans, and Americans. They reside for the most part at the *Chartrons*, which is the quarter most commodious for business, as well as the most pleasant to inhabit from better air, superior views, and more modern architecture. Here almost all the consuls of foreign nations reside.

In front of the *Chartrons* lay the shipping, at least all the vessels that are loading or unloading, at Bordeaux. Here the flags of almost all nations were to be seen flying, excepting those of England and France. I say France, because the vessels belonging to that nation were for the most part dismantled; and if a three-coloured flag was here and there hoisted, it was scarcely distinguishable in the crowd. The trade of Bordeaux with foreign countries is at present carried on principally by means of Hanse-
atic,

atic, Danish, Swedish, Prussian, and American vessels. But the flag of this latter nation predominates. In December there were, I am persuaded, not less than from thirty to forty American vessels in the river. Their speculations in coffee, sugar, and other colonial articles, were at first attended with considerable profits; but this attracted so many adventurers, that the markets were at length glutted, and the vessels last arriving, it was expected, would incur heavy losses. Commerce, as it is carried on by the Americans, appears to me in many respects more like a lottery than as it is carried on in England. With us it is a regular business, in which men divide their risks upon given principles, so that they have a certainty of making a profit upon the whole. An American will more readily stake every thing on one venture; and it would not seem to be of so much consequence to him, whether in the issue he becomes a man of fortune or is ruined.

The

The *Chartrons* is about three quarters of a mile in length, presenting a regular front of well-built houses. The end next the *Chateau-trompette*, proceeding in a straight line, is distant about a quarter of a mile from the exchange. This street possesses the advantage, uncommon in the cities of France, of an excellent *trottoir*, or flag-stone pavement at one side. On the other side are the wharfs. The filling of casks with wine, brandy, olives, &c. rolling them to and from the wharfs, heading them; the nailing of boxes full of prunes, raisins and other fruits, together with the constant noise of people labouring in various vocations, fill the mind with pleasant ideas of active industry and useful commerce. In many an irksome walk which I took along the *Chartrons*, during my detention at Bordeaux, the languages which were spoken on all sides, made me sometimes doubtful whether I was not in Hamburg or in London, rather than in a town of France.

THE EXCHANGE

Is a new building, situated close to the river, at the bottom of the *Chateau-rouge*, which is the most elegant street in Bordeaux. It consists of an oblong square, the sides of which are supported by arches. The plan of it is in general much admired ; but its greatest peculiarity is an elegant arched roof of glass, by which those who are within have the benefit of light, without the inconvenience of exposure to rain or snow.

Over the arches, in the inside, are written the names of the different countries of the world with which France is supposed to be in relations of commerce. Even in this trivial circumstance, a trait of the national vanity appeared so prominent that it could not escape remark. Among the names of the countries which were written over the arches, conspicuous places were allotted to those

those of China, Persia and Japan. Curious to see some of the merchants of these countries, I frequently took my stand under the arches which belonged to them; but without having in any one instance met with success. I consoled myself for the disappointment by reflecting that in a century hence, some other traveller may be more fortunate. Or perhaps the travellers of that æra, in reading those inscriptions, may draw the inference that, at some former unknown period, the exchange of Bordeaux was frequented by merchants from China, Persia, and Japan.

The new exchange is in a central situation, within twenty minutes walk of the centre of the *Chartrons*, and is in every respect a great acquisition to the town. The only fault which is found with the architecture, is that the arches are somewhat too small in proportion to the size of the building. It has not, I understand, been finished at the expence of the government, but of

the merchants. There is at one end an inscription, recording the æra of the building to have been in the consulship of Bonaparte, in the same terms of servile flattery by which that unfortunate man's mind has been for so many years deluged, and at length overthrown. Well might he exclaim, with the Roman emperor: "I am tired with the adulation of the senate."

ALLEES DE TOURNI.

Above the *Chateau-trompette*, and close to the grand theatre, is a pleasant walk, intersected by rows of trees, where, when the weather permits, all the idlers of Bordeaux are constantly walking. This *promenade* somewhat resembles the *Youngfernsteig* at Hamburg, or the *Unter-den-Linden* at Berlin; but is much inferior to both.

On each side and at both ends are coffee-houses, where people breakfast, and take
coffee

coffee and liqueurs after dinner. In these coffee-houses are posted the *mouchards* (spies) of the police, to watch those who pass up and down the walk, particularly strangers.

The French, from their more idle habits, necessarily acquire a greater share of curiosity than the English. The necessity of employing the mind, if they have no affairs of their own, lead them to seek gratification in obtaining a knowledge of the affairs of others. When to this acquired disposition is added the zeal arising from interest, a Frenchman becomes a most diligent inquirer; and were his discretion and judgment equal to his zeal and finessè, he would be indeed a very formidable spy.

JARDIN PUBLIQUE.

At a small distance from the *Allées de Tourni*, toward the *Chartrons*, but receding
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from the river, is a very pleasant garden, or rather a park, for the use of the public. It is not indeed equal in variety to the Tuilleries or the Luxembourg; but it possesses the advantage of a purer air. This garden is very much neglected; and you seldom, even in fine weather, meet a dozen of people in the walks.

The inhabitants of Bordeaux in general, but more especially the ladies, do not seem to be fond of walking. And if the *Allées de Tourni* be so much frequented by the public, it is because, in going from one end of the town to the other, to pass through them is the shortest road.

HALF-YEARLY FAIR AT BORDEAUX.

At this period the half-yearly fair was held at Bordeaux, and a great number of strangers resorted to town in consequence. It
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was held principally in a gallery furrounding the exchange, which it overlooks. Almost every article of merchandise was dearer here than it could be bought at any other time, or in any other place ; but there was a great shew of goods, and a great assemblage of people. The French are fond of all kinds of shews ; and a fair is of that nature. The consular government has of late taken great pains to multiply these shews throughout the republic.

GAMING-HOUSES.

During the continuance of the fair, which is twenty or twenty-five days, licensed gambling-booths are constantly open along the river side, to which sailors, watermen, and others of the lower orders of the people resort to lose their money. I went into these booths, in order to observe what was going on ; but all the senses were too much

shocked to be able to remain for any time in them ; beside a man of decent dress and appearance is stared at as a strange animal ; and if, in addition to this, he has the misfortune of being recognised as an Englishman, it would be imprudent in him, at a moment like the present, to delay making a retreat.

There are gaming-houses of a higher order, to which the more genteel people resort. The vice of gaming is extremely common in France. Even women frequent these houses ; and for that purpose often dress in men's cloaths. In that dress they also frequently go to the theatres. A man accustomed to frequent the play-houses, upon his entrance generally looks round to see whether his neighbours be male or female. To ascertain this, he does not think of looking at the dress ; but at the hair, breasts, fingers (to see whether there be rings), and the general shape and air ; if there

there be any doubt he attends also to the voice and manner.

In the coffee-houses at Bordeaux, the whole conversation at breakfast (and the people talk a great deal) is respecting who has lost and who has won the night before at the gaming tables; who has made a good, and who a bad, stroke; who has been broke himself, or who has broke the bank.

The hero, in one of the coffee-houses which I used to frequent, *Le Caffé Americain François*, was a lock-smith, (*un ferrurier*,) who had abandoned his profession and become gamester. He lost and won hundreds of a night, and repeatedly broke the bank*.

In these banks they never place more than a certain sum at a time, (from 15 to 20,000 livres perhaps, or from 700*l.* to

* *Faire sauter la banque* is the technical expression.

1000*l.*,) so that they may be frequently broke without being finally ruined.

It appears that, other things being equal, people are inclined to gaming in proportion as they are idle. In England and Holland there is not much of this vice. In Germany there is a good deal; but billiards and whist, which do not depend upon chance, are the favourite games. In France, playing, particularly in respect to games of chance, is practised with a higher degree of ardour than I have seen in any other country, excepting perhaps among the Malays in the East Indies. When a Malay has lost all his property, he will sell his wife and children; a Frenchman will sell his clothes; if, after that, their affairs become irretrievable, the one will *run a muck*, the other will drown himself.

A Frenchman is surprised to find a man who does not play at any game; but he is
utterly

utterly astonished to find any one who holds gaming in abhorrence.

The miserable effects of this vice, which the French government converts into a source of revenue, have been so often insisted upon, that scarcely any thing new can now be added on the subject. I have, however, heard instances related at Bordeaux, which, as I do not recollect to have seen similar ones any where stated, it may be useful to lay before the public.

The supercargo of an American ship was enticed to a gaming table, without having any knowledge of, or at first much inclination to, play. At the commencement he ventured moderately, and lost of course. His desire to regain what he had lost prompted him to hazard more and more, until at length, having made a great encroachment on the cargo entrusted to his charge, he became desperate, and determined to retrieve his losses, or to risk the whole. To make

a long story short, he lost the cargo ; and, in order to have a chance of recovering it, risked the ship. In this he had no better luck than before. Both ship and cargo being gone, how was he to face the owners? It was impossible for him to return to America. It was no less impossible to live in France without the means of subsistence. Suicide, the last refuge of the unfortunate, was his only alternative : and thus he expiated a crime, occasioned by no radical propensity to vice in his nature, but by a gradual progression in imprudence, under the baneful influence of treachery and bad example.

I have also heard several instances related of young men, travelling on the continent for mercantile houses in England, who were ensnared into this practice, in consequence of associating with bad company, male or female ; and were the causes of much loss, and in some cases of even utter ruin, to their employers. From the whole, I conclude
that

that there is not, in human society, a vice more dangerous, or perhaps more attractive, than that of gaming.

HOTELS, TABLE-D'HOTES, AND RESTAURATEURS.

The taverns were quite full owing to the fair. In that in which I lived, I was obliged to sleep in a double-bedded room, where I had a constant succession of companions; and sometimes two slept in the second bed. This, although I bore it for some time out of complaisance to the people of the house, and from reluctance to change, was extremely disagreeable to me; but the conduct of two friends, who slept in the next bed, and were in other respects genteel and pleasant men, having excited suspicions of a horrid nature in my mind, I declared, without however mentioning my reasons, that, if they did not give me a single-bedded room, I would not sleep another night in
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the house. The landlady, unwilling to lose an English customer, contrived to effect an exchange, by which means I was left in solitude to enjoy my own reflections. It was truly an enjoyment: for, independent of the disagreeable ideas occasioned by the circumstance I have stated, every one of my companions found means, however unintentionally, of disturbing me, some by unseasonable conversation, some by whistling or humming tunes, and all of them by coming home at a very late hour of the night from masked balls, or other kinds of amusement. On this, as on other occasions, I have remarked that Frenchmen, with all the exterior marks of politeness, are, in effect, as selfish a people as any on the globe, if it be selfishness to consult their own convenience almost exclusively.

The expence of living for a stranger in Bordeaux, calculating at a moderate rate, may be from eight to ten livres a day, or from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 8*s.* 4*d.*, independent of

play-house, masquerade, and other expences, which are not absolutely necessary; namely three or four livres, including a bottle of good Bordeaux wine or claret, for dinner; three livres for lodging; one livre for breakfast; and from half a livre to a livre for coffee, liqueurs, and other trifles of that kind. The hotels, of which there are a great number, are in general as good, if not better, than those of Paris; and lodgings are far more reasonable. In most of the hotels, a *table d'hôte* is kept, where you can dine very well for three livres, including as much wine as you can drink. But most people prefer dining at a *restaurateur's*, although they cannot dine so well for the same money. In France generally, since the revolution, *table d'hôtes* have become less numerous for the same reason that *restaurateurs* have increased. At the former, you associate with a very mixed company; are obliged to dine at a certain hour, and have not a choice of dishes or of conversation. At the latter, you may choose your company,

company, or sit alone, a very great advantage in France since the revolution, and particularly at the present moment, when a stranger is sure to be surrounded on all quarters by spies ; you can dine at any hour you please from two to six, and have a choice of dishes.

For residents, as they know the company who frequent them, *Tables d'hotes* may be preferable ; but to strangers I would recommend the *Restaurateurs*. At Bordeaux that of the *Tourni* is the most frequented.

THEATRES.

In this town there are three large, and several small theatres. *Le Grand Theatre*, situated at one extremity of the walk or alley *de Tourny*, and close to the Exchange, is a very fine building, scarcely inferior to the first theatres of London or Paris. Here
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Mademoiselle Contat played, during the fair weeks, to crowded and admiring audiences. I was sorry to remark that this charming actress has augmented so much in bulk, that her figure diminishes considerably the effect, which her talents are otherwise capable of producing.

In ordinary times, the receipts of the theatres of Bordeaux must be small: for the failures of the managers have, for a long time, been periodical. Toward the end of November, *le Grand Theatre* and *le Theatre François* were opened under the auspices of a new administration. It was proposed to diminish the price of entrance, for the first places, from six livres to three; and so in proportion for the rest. The prices as formerly fixed were certainly too high for a town like Bordeaux; and this might be one of the principal causes of the frequent failures of the managers. Upon these occasions, the actors (*les artistes*) were obliged to take the management into their own

own hands; and it was remarked that the public were at those times better served. There are no very celebrated actors at Bordeaux. *Mademoiselle Clairville* is held in great esteem as a singer.

Le Theatre François is next in size to *le Grand Theatre*. It is also situated near the *Tourni*, in a street called I believe *La Rue du Theatre François*. Both theatres are under the management of the same administration, and the same set of actors play at them alternately. They are consequently open only every second night.

Le Theatre de Moliere is smaller in size, and situated in a more obscure part of the town. The price of admission is more moderate; and for that reason I presume it is generally better filled than the other theatres which have been mentioned. At the theatre of Moliere melo-dramas are much in fashion. One of those I saw was entitled *les Brigands de la Calabre, ou la*
Foret

Foret perilleuse. This extravagant production, full of poisonings, assassinations, and other monstrous proceedings is from the pen of Loisel Theogat. *Beaujolais*, the manager of this theatre, is a good actor, and perhaps the only good one of the troop; but he does not often play.

Les Charbonniers de la Foret noire, another melo-drama of the Vaudeville kind, also attracts many spectators: for my own part, the evolutions of the soldiers of the garrison, supposed to represent German soldiers, appeared to me the best, or the only tolerable, part of the performance. Judging from the representations at this theatre, a stranger would be apt to think that France was a large forest, containing nothing but brigands and soldiers.

But if he goes to the theatre called *La Gaité de Tourni*, he will perceive that there are inhabitants of another kind. This is the rallying point of the frail sisterhood;

at least of those who make of frailty a profession ; and of course a rendezvous for seafaring people and idlers of every kind. The prices are very low, and the actors and the pieces low in proportion ; but the house is generally overflowing.

MASQUED BALLS.

The fair is a kind of carnival at Bordeaux. There were almost every evening masqued balls at some of the hotels, coffee-houses, or public rooms ; the price of admission is usually from two to three livres for each person, and five livres for a lady and gentleman. These assemblies were generally composed of motely groups ; chiefly military men, seafaring men, and country dealers and shop-keepers. Very few genteel people went to them ; and when they did, they were generally unmasked. Characters were not wanting, but they were
for

for the most part very miserably sustained. The ebullitions of that genuine humour, which distinguishes Englishmen, and which is so essential to the spirit of a masquerade, was totally wanting, and would not have been understood. The only part of a French masquerade deserving of praise is the dancing.

OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

Dining in company with a gentleman of Brussels, and a young friend of his, who was on the eve of leaving France, in order to avoid the military conscription, the officers of a demi-brigade, on their march from Bayonne* to Brest, came to dine at another table,

* About this period, the army which had been assembled at Bayonne, for the purpose of intimidating Spain and Portugal, was disbanded, and the troops were marching through Bordeaux toward the channel. On their arrival at this city there was no money in the
P treasury

table, in the same room with us. At first I supposed from their dress, but much more from their behaviour, that they were only common soldiers. "No," said my companion, who was a man of wit and good-breeding, and enjoyed formerly a title and an estate, "they are all officers, but they have evidently risen from the ranks, with the exception of that young man, whom you see edging toward us, ashamed I presume of the vulgar conduct of his companions." The young man alluded to placed himself at the corner of the table next to us; and we found, from his conversation, that the conjecture was right. The rest of the officers, to the number of ten or twelve, had placed themselves at table

treasury to pay their arrears, which occasioned a great deal of discontent among the troops. It was reported several weeks before, that, at Bayonne, some of the corps had broke out into acts of open insurrection. And, although it was difficult to ascertain the exact truth of this affair, it appeared very certain that some blood had been spilt.

before

before the commandant had made his appearance. When he entered, they all got up to make room for him, and to hand him a chair, with a shew of humble submission, which it would be repugnant to the feelings of any commanding officer of a British army to receive. " Don't disturb yourselves for me, citizens," said he, throwing himself into a chair with his hat on, and wiping the sweat from his brows, " I don't require much room." He was a short, fat, greasy, vulgar looking man, such as I have often figured to myself of Henriot, the commandant of Paris in the time of Robespierre. They hastened to hand him a plate of soup. The first spoonful he took up was too hot, and he began to blow into it with all his might, as children do to cool their broth. During the repast, he and his companions performed several evolutions of equal elegance, such as picking their teeth with a fork, &c. and their conversation was nearly as edifying as their manners were refined.

As we walked out of the room I said :
 “ Is this a fair specimen of your officers,—
 of the *legislators* you are going to send to
 Great Britain ? “ *A peu pres**,” said he,
 “ You know that, with the exception of
 officers of high rank, or distinguished merit,
 our military men of the present day in
 France are not received into genteel com-
 pany. It is even reckoned disgraceful for
 a young man of family and education to
 accept a challenge from a common officer
 (*une militaire*).”

But don't you admit that they are able
 in their profession ? “ Those men who
 have been raised from the ranks, and have
 had no education, may make good serjeants,
 or even tolerable subaltern officers. But it
 is very rarely that men of this description
 are found to command with distinguished
 merit on a larger scale. Almost all the
 officers, who have risen to eminence, even

* Almost.

during the most equalising period of the revolution, had, in the early part of life, received a liberal education; and I may cite Bonaparte and Moreau as splendid proofs of what I advance. In fact, ought we not to expect more valour and honour from men of superior education, independent of the incalculable advantages which education otherwise confers? Experience being supposed equal, I conceive it impossible that the ignorant and illiterate soldier, promoted from the ranks for some accidental trait of valour, can, in the capacity of an officer, equal a man of education, excepting when he is excited by a peculiar fanaticism. In our revolution, the fanaticism was, for a while, general, and produced general effects. But even then, it very often happened that, in the elevation of privates to the rank of officers, the greatest boaster was mistaken for the bravest man, and advanced over the heads of those who were more modest and deserving. What better, indeed, could have been expected from those, who were then

the judges of merit ? I conclude, that it is better to appoint men of education to the rank of officers even by chance, than to promote the ignorant and illiterate by selection.

THE SHOEBLACK PAWNBROKER.

Such curious combinations of characters as in France are, I believe, no where else to be met with. Going to the *Grand Theatre*, with a young Frenchman, I observed a youth of decent appearance, after having had his boots cleaned, by a shoeblack on the steps, give him his watch, and receive some money from him in return. “ What can be the meaning of this ? ” said I to my companion. *Cette artiste decrotteur* (that artist shoeblack), my dear Sir, has the custom of most of the young men of this place. When they wish to go to the play, masqued ball, or any other species of amusement,

ment, and have no money in their pockets, they have recourse to him for assistance. He lends them whatever sum they have immediate occasion for, upon receiving a cane, a pocket-handkerchief, a ring, a watch, or any other pledge as a security for repayment. If he has already had experience of the integrity of the parties, he will even accommodate them without exacting any guarantee. But this mark of confidence is bestowed upon very few.

I am not sure whether this artist shoe-black pawnbroker does not also occasionally exercise the profession of a pimp. Certain it is, that he is in great reputation and practice among the youth of Bordeaux. Whether from gratitude, expectation, or curiosity, most of the young men resort to him to have their boots cleaned, in preference to any other. He is already sufficiently rich to retire from business; but his situation gives him an influence in so-

ciety which he would with reluctance renounce.

ENGLISH MERCHANTS ERASED FROM THE LIST OF PRISONERS.

Toward the end of November, General Avril, commandant of the 11th military division, ordered the English, who were considered as prisoners of war, but allowed to remain at Bordeaux, to appear before him, in order to revise their permissions, passports, and other papers.

At the same time the following English merchants were erased from the list of prisoners by order of government: Hugh Kellker, Hugh Wilson, Alexander Peterson, Christopher Martin, Hamden Evans, junior, — Blanchard, Thomas Walker, William Key, George Perrier, and Anthony Moore.

ENGLISH PHYSICIANS.

Before and during the revolution, there were several English physicians at Bordeaux. Of these only two now remain; and they have scarcely sufficient practice to maintain them. During the reign of terror, they were all put in requisition to serve with the armies of the republic. One of them served a long time with the army of Dugomier in Spain.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

I visited the churches at Bordeaux; but saw no difference between them and those of the capital. The congregations consisted principally of old women and their grandchildren, who were sent because they were too troublesome to their mothers at home. In France, women past the age of forty are,
perhaps,

perhaps, more devout than women of the same age, in any other quarter of the globe. They are also more addicted to snuffing. Might I venture to hazard the explication of these phænomena, is it not that when the charms, which excite admiration, and procure lovers (in the French acceptation of the word) begin to fade, it becomes necessary to substitute other modes of employing their time and their faculties? The French ladies (I am sorry when truth obliges me to withhold praise from any portion of the fairest part of the creation), particularly those accustomed to the dissipation of large cities, endeavour as much as possible to avoid having many children, and, when they cannot succeed in their endeavours, take as little trouble as possible in superintending their education. Thus being incapable of domestic employment, when they attain the age at which lovers begin to drop off, they very naturally have recourse to the stimulus of *ratasfe*, and the consolations of religion, for support. “ They
 repent

repent and pray, when they can no longer sin." I must, however, do them the justice to say, that they are not so catholic as the matrons of some other countries, in paying their devotions to the essence of Coniac.

Whatever degree of truth there may be in this reasoning, the fact is, that in the large towns of France, old women and children only are observed to frequent the churches: nor has the formality of restoring religion, by treaty, effected any sensible change in this respect. Every one knows the powerful effect of sympathy. When religion was persecuted, more persons were perhaps desirous of going to church, than since it has been tolerated; and more, when it was only tolerated, than since it has been ostentatiously patronised. It was not, however, the increase of religion, or the filling of churches, that Bonaparte had in view; it was the increase of patronage, and the favour of the church. Robespierre would have concluded probably in the same manner.

ner. After the grand measure of *acknowledging* the Supreme Being, he would in due time have proceeded to reinstate the pope, and afterwards by degrees to the appointment of bishops, and all the subordinate members of the clergy.

The state of religion and the church of France would supply matter capable of itself of filling a moderate volume. Without entering so deeply into the subject, I will make a few observations, which, although in themselves sufficiently obvious, may be not of an uninteresting nature to those who have not visited France. The great power of the church in that country, before the revolution, arose from its immense property. Bonaparte, as he cannot restore this, can never restore the influence of the clergy over the people: they must be indebted to himself for all their income. Thus the poverty and subserviency of the church will render it, as a profession, an object not worthy the attention of any one who has prospects

prospects beyond those of a day-labourer. Accordingly, no respectable families in France, as far as I have been able to learn, have, since the restoration of religion, as it is called, sent their sons to be educated for the church.

But there are not, at this moment, more priests in orders than are sufficient to occupy the places created for them by the concordat. Very few of these are less than forty years of age, and most of them are very old men, who cannot be expected to live long, according to the usual course of nature. From whence, then, are the vacancies, which will arise, to be filled up? It is evident that, unless Bonaparte can contrive some means of converting conscripts into priests, the members who die will be replaced unworthily, or not replaced at all.

SHIPS COMING FROM NEW YORK PER- FORM QUARANTINE.

I have known American ships, arriving from New York, obliged to perform quarantine, or to do penance, in the river of Bordeaux. They are distinguished by a yellow flag at the fore-top-gallant mast head. This discipline, which, from my opinions respecting contagion, appears to me a perfect farce, may to others appear a very necessary formality. On these occasions an *officier de santé* goes on board, and examines at a distance the countenances of the crew, to ascertain whether any of them are affected with a contagious disorder. If this officer of health finds that one or two are affected with any malady having the smallest resemblance to yellow-fever, all the rest of the crew are obliged to remain on board during the period for which quarantine is usually

usually performed. If none of them have any marked symptoms of fever, they are allowed, after three or four days, to have communication with the shore.

This is a kind of duty to which the officers of health at Bordeaux have not been much accustomed. The commerce of that town with America has increased to so great a degree only during the last years; and the yellow-fever has not constantly existed in that country; so that these precautions, even according to the commonly received notions of contagion, have seldom been necessary.

The first time the farce was to be performed this season, the officer of health, who was to repair on board, set off with his imagination full of contagious matter, expecting to meet with nothing but human spectres tinged with a deep yellow, walking the decks. But what was his surprise to find, when the crew were mustered, that

every one of them looked healthier than himself. " Mon Dieu, captain," said he, " your people look better than ours do ashore. You do not appear to have any more contagion than they have." " No, by G-d, doctor, nor half so much," replied the captain. " But if you come on board a fortnight hence, mayhap you'll find more."

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION.

The law, which enacts that two thirds of the population of France, from twenty to five-and-twenty years of age, shall be ballotted for to serve in the armies of the republic, was passed in the time of the directory, in the year six or seven. But as two thirds of this description of persons are ballotted for every year, it is evident that a complete third of those who have attained their twentieth year only are exempted. Those of that age exempted the first year being included in the list of the second year,

year, and so on to the age of twenty-five, very few of them can escape serving.

This remarkable law, whether we consider it in its effects on the people of France, or of Europe, is equally replete with mischief. When all the nations of Europe were armed against French principles, the necessity of self-defence might have justified the adoption of such a measure: but now that France is in arms against the independence of all the nations of Europe, the means originally adopted for self-defence are, in the hands of a tyrant, converted into means of universal destruction.

Thus almost the whole population of France and Italy, from twenty to twenty-five years of age, are placed at the disposal of the government. From 800,000 to a million of soldiers are raised, and at this very moment, preparing to attempt the overthrow of the liberties and the independence of Europe. The consequence

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will be that Europe, in order to defend those liberties and that independence, will find it necessary to have recourse to a military conscription also.

The terrible effect of this state of things, must be to withdraw an immense proportion of the population of Europe from useful industry, in order to train them to the art of war. But young men, after being occupied in a military capacity for a number of years, will not be fit to return to those useful occupations, which they had been obliged to relinquish ; a circumstance which cannot fail to occasion an innumerable train of evils : and there does not seem to be the smallest chance of putting a stop to these calamities, while the present ruler of France remains in power, unless he should think fit, a thing not to be expected according to the usual order of nature, all at once to moderate his ambition, and to restrain his views of aggrandisement.

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This law has, particularly of late, from the manner of its execution, become extremely odious. It was at one time resisted with open force; but several hundred young men having fallen a sacrifice to this resistance, the rest were obliged to submit. They were forced to acquiesce in the most shameful partiality and injustice in the mode of drawing lots. At present it is regarded as a two-edged weapon, in the hands of the government, by which they can raise both soldiers and money. The son of a rich man may be exempted, if the father consents to pay 1500 or 2000 livres, and is a friend of the government beside. But it is in vain that a poor man solicits exemption, under any circumstance, even if he has a wife and a large family of children. I recollect an instance, which came within my own observation, of fatal effects from the lot falling upon a young married man. While visiting a patient, last summer, in the *Rue de Lille*, I was informed that a woman in the neighbourhood, had, that

morning, fainted away, upon hearing that the lot had fallen upon her son; and that she never recovered. He was her only child; was married to a beautiful young woman, and had already a family of three children. Upon making particular enquiry, I found that the circumstances, as they were related to me, were strictly true. If these occurrences had happened in England, they would have been faithfully recorded in all the newspapers, and known to the whole country; but if any Parisian journalist had ventured to state even the outlines of them, he would have been sent immediately to Cayenne. I doubt whether any person in Paris, who did not happen to be in the *Rue de Lille* that morning, ever heard of this fact.

The authorised murders committed last year, by the military on the conscripts in the sections of Paris, were so slightly mentioned in the newspapers as to conceal from the public an exact knowledge of the number

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ber of lives that were lost upon the occasion. A circumstance that happened at *Angers* on the 16th of November, an account of which I have copied from one of the departmental journals, shews that the opposition of the conscripts had by no means ceased in consequence of the severity with which those of Paris had been treated:—

“ Some young men of the department *des Deux Sevres*, in the arrondissement of *Châtillon*, led by *perfidious suggestions*, have dared to enter, armed, into the commune of *Ifernay*, in the arrondissement of *Beaupréau*, and to make an appeal to the conscripts of the years 11 and 12; but the inhabitants of *Ifernay* shut their houses, and were deaf to the voice of revolt. The lieutenant of *Gendarmerie*, *Rosier*, commandant at *Beaupréau*, being informed of this rebellion, repaired to *Ifernay* with such brigades as he could collect. At his approach, the young men returned to their department; sixteen were arrested, and the rest dispersed. Lieutenant *Rosier* and his

troop displayed the greatest zeal and activity. Upon the first intelligence, the prefect himself, accompanied by the sub-prefects of Beaupréau and of Segré, went to Chemillé and afterwards to Cholet, in order to take, on the spot, the measures that might be rendered necessary by circumstances, and to second the movements of the *Gendarmerie*." (This was the official account.)

Every man acquainted with the actual state of France, will conclude, from the terms of the above statement, that the most essential facts, such as the number of lives that were lost, and the number of persons wounded, are very carefully suppressed. From some small knowledge of their policy in this respect, I can assure those who are not acquainted with it, that, in the present instance, the loss must have been very considerable before the tumult was appeased.

Many young men, particularly from the new departments, have left their country,
rather

rather than be subjected to the conscription laws. Others endeavour to conceal themselves, and to evade compliance. But their utmost pains are ineffectual; for they are sure to be sooner or latter discovered. The number that has deserted is almost incredible. I saw lists of them, before the war, with descriptions of their persons, amounting, at that time, to many thousands; and, from these lists, I conclude that the number of conscript deserters, from the whole republic and its dependencies, cannot, at this moment, amount to less than from forty to sixty thousand men. Such of them as had the misfortune to be discovered, were consigned to certain depôts, from whence they were to be sent, as a punishment, to the colonies. But since France has no longer access to her colonies, the mode of punishment must be changed.

For several months previous to my quitting Paris, it was impossible to walk the streets without meeting dozens of conscripts,

in their labouring jackets, as they had been forced from their occupations, hand-cuffed and dragged to prison, each between two foldiers. They all had the appearance of men, who considered themselves as going to certain slaughter, excepting such as, in order to drown their sorrow, had swallowed liquor enough to produce intoxication.

The number of deserters had become so great by the beginning of December, that the government found it necessary to issue a decree, which was in fact a general amnesty. Of that decree the following are the principal dispositions :

“ Commissaries at war, prefects and sub-prefects, are authorised to deliver *feuilles de route* for the regiment of infantry, nearest to the place of their residence, to every individual in a state of desertion, who shall appear before them by the 10th of Nivose (1st of January) next, and shall declare that he is willing to resume his service. As soon

as

as he shall be incorporated in the regiment he shall have joined, the prosecutions commenced against him, in that which he has quitted, shall cease.

“ Every soldier who shall not, before the 15th of Nivose (5th of January) next, have joined some corps of infantry of the army, shall, at that epoch, be tried and punished according to the *arrete* of the 19th of Vendemiaire (11th of October). No special council of war shall be formed before the 15th of Nivose (the 5th of January).”

These facts indicate with sufficient clearness the extent of misery produced by the military conscription, as it is at present executed in France.

Those who are fond of considering laws abstractedly, or without reference to the particular circumstances under which they are applied, may think the French conscription as justifiable as the pressing of seamen
in

in England. But men who reason in this manner, do not seem to me to reflect that, without the *right* of pressing seamen enjoyed by our government, they would not have the *power* of defending so completely our independence against external enemies; and that it is infinitely better to acquiesce in a partial violation of our internal freedom, than to run the smallest risk of losing our external independence, which would carry with it the loss of all our liberties. Our relative position in Europe, then, demands unequivocally this partial violation, in order to ensure, with less inconvenience and expence, our safety from the attacks of external foes: and I should applaud his spirit rather than his wisdom, who should advise the diminution in any shape of our most popular means of defence. This point is, or ought to be, at this day, well and generally understood: at least no man in England probably would venture, under the present circumstances of Europe, to reprobate the right of pressing, or the propriety

of using it. What has been said, on this subject, by Junius and Mr. Justice Forster, is worth a thousand abstract speculations; and is well worthy the attentive perusal of those, who may have still doubts remaining with respect either to the legality of the measure generally, or the necessity of it in the actual position of Great Britain with respect to the other nations of Europe.

BATEAUX PLATS, CHALOUPES CAN- NONIERES, AND PENICHES.

At Bordeaux a hundred and eighty vessels of different kinds, intended for the expedition against England, were upon the stocks. As one was finished and launched it was replaced by another. They were dispatched to Havre in dozens, as they were ready, in order to proceed from thence to the general *rendezvous* at Boulogne. At one time building was suspended, both at
Bordeaux

Bordeaux and Bayonne, because there was no money in the treasury to pay the workmen. It was, however, afterwards resumed.

The original plan, there is reason to believe, was to collect two thousand gun-boats, flat-bottomed boats, and pinnaces, of different sizes, capable of transporting 200,000 men, in the port of Boulogne. These have been constructing in various parts of the republic; but, from want of hands, want of money, and the difficulty of eluding the vigilance of our cruizers, not above seven or eight hundred have yet arrived at the general *rendezvous*. Their passage, it is thought, would be rendered still more difficult, if these cruizers consisted almost solely of flat-bottomed gun-boats, capable of approaching the shore, but having the support of larger vessels at hand. This indeed is partly the principle of the plan which has been adopted for that service;

vice ; but, in the execution, it does not seem to have been carried to a sufficient extent.

Strangers to the facility with which the French people deceive themselves, will readily expect that the dock-yards of the river Seine are something grand and imposing beyond example. When I left Paris, there were about fifty flat-bottomed boats, as they called them, on the stocks. In their construction, there did not seem, to the eye of the landsman, any remarkable peculiarity. Their bottoms indeed were somewhat more flat than ordinary ; but not so much so as to merit the appellation they had obtained. The largest of them were from eighty to a hundred tons burthen ; but if the accounts, respecting the size of the gun-boats lately taken by two of our frigates, be true, much larger vessels must have been built in other parts of the republic. See Note (c).

The dock-yards of Paris reminded me much of those of the fishing village of Blankanese, in the dutchy of Holstein. But I have seen crowds of old Frenchmen on the banks of the Seine, who had probably never seen even a fishing village, stand in a kind of exstacy admiring this wonderful portion of the national flotilla. “ *Mon Dieu !*” exclaimed one of them, “ *comment est il possible que l’Angleterre peut resister à une telle force ! Qu’en dites vous, Monsieur l’Anglois * ?*” Not thinking that an argument would alter the relative force of the two nations, I replied, *assurement, c’est impossible †* ; and he walked away completely satisfied and full of conviction of the national strength ‡.

* Good God ! how is it possible that England can resist all this force ! What do you think of it, Mr. Englishman ?

† Certainly, ’tis impossible.

‡ This is one of the favourite phrases of the consular government, in their public declarations.

There

There are some peculiarities in their construction. Part of the gun-boats, for instance, have two keels, so that upon being run a-shore they will sit upright. The peniches, or pinnaces, are to be impelled not only by oars but by small wheels, the combined force of which is, according to the French accounts, to give them a wonderful degree of velocity. These, together with many other surprising combinations, which are excellent upon paper, would, I suspect, be sadly discomposed by contact with a British squadron.

PERMISSION OBTAINED TO EMBARK ON
BOARD A VESSEL FOR EMBDEN.

From the manner in which my passport was worded *, although I was confident the intentions of those who granted it could be no other than to permit me to go where I

* " Going to the United States of America, to embark at Bordeaux only."

pleased,

pleased, it did not appear certain that the agents of the government at Bordeaux would permit me to embark in any but an American vessel; and I did not wish to go to America.

There was then at Bordeaux a vessel belonging to Hamburg, nominally bound to Embden, but in reality loading for the port of London. This was a secret known to all the town. Having agreed with the German captain for a passage, I waited upon Mr. David, the commissary of marine, whose business it is to grant permissions to embark. I opened my passport and laid it before him without speaking a word. He only enquired the name of the vessel and captain with whom I wished to embark, and wrote the permission immediately at the bottom of the passport. Thus an affair, which, had I followed any of the numerous advices and opinions I received on the occasion, might, by raising doubts in the breast of the commissary, have become a subject
of

of tedious negotiation, terminated happily merely by guarding silence, and allowing things to take their own course.

For six weeks after obtaining permission to embark, was I obliged to wait in the most painful anxiety for the sailing of this Hamburg vessel, the captain daily assuring me that he would be ready for sea next week. What I most apprehended was that, in the interval, an embargo might be laid upon all the shipping in the harbour, and that I should not be able for a long time to get away.

ENGLISH PRISONERS AND AMERICAN CAPTAINS.

During this interval, I was invited to dine with a party of Americans at the *Chartrons*. A few minutes before we went to table, a scene of a very painful nature took place in the house. Two English cap-

R

tains

tains of ships, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, had concealed themselves in the garret for six weeks, and were in hopes of being able to make their escape in sailors' habits on board of some neutral vessel. Some *mouchard* (spy) had now informed against them, and their hopes were in a moment destroyed. They were arrested by officers of the police, and conveyed with circumstances of ignominy to prison. The landlady was severely reprimanded, and with difficulty escaped the same fate. She would certainly have been fined or banished, had she not been an American, and had not the agents of the French government, whose policy it is to appear to shew civility to that of America, thought proper to pardon her, in compliment to the consul of that nation, who had the humanity to intercede in her behalf. What a charmingly compendious system of government it is, under which individuals are condemned or pardoned, according to the will and pleasure of their superiors!

The

The unfortunate captains, whose names are *Conduit* and *Jones*, were dragged to prison without a farthing of money in their pockets. Upon learning this, Captain Marner and other Americans very humanely set on foot a subscription, and immediately collected from fifteen to twenty guineas, which were conveyed to them in the prison. The gentleman I have just mentioned (an Irishman by birth) incurred the displeasure of the police for daring to shew compassion to unfortunate Englishmen. But armed with an American passport, he laughed at their resentment.

CAPTAIN STEVENSON.

I must not forget to mention another instance of generosity, on the part of an American, which was exercised toward myself. Captain Stevenson, of New York, by accident saw my name upon a card where he visited. He enquired who I was; and

finding that Mr. Hugh Maclean, of New York, with whom he was on intimate terms, is my brother, he immediately called upon me. Conceiving that I was in the situation of a prisoner who wished to escape from France, without having a regular passport, he very handsomely offered to take the risk of giving me a passage in his own vessel ; and, supposing that I was not very plentifully supplied with money, he delicately but earnestly pressed me to share his purse, begging that I would not stint myself, but take whatever sum I might have occasion for.

This offer, as captain Stevenson would have run a considerable risk of losing his vessel, had I been discovered on board of her in attempting clandestinely to escape, is one of the most liberal and noble traits of the human character which I have met with through life. Others which have occurred to me upon difficult occasions I recollect, and could with pleasure record,

were

were this the proper place for such a history. Captain Stevenson is yet a young man.

PAYMENT REFUSED OF BILLS DRAWN
UPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT,
BY THEIR AGENTS IN SAINT DO-
MINGO.

At Bordeaux I met with a Mr. K—, who had come from Charlestown, South Carolina, on purpose to recover payment of bills drawn by General Leclerc, or his deputies, for provisions and stores furnished to the French army of Saint Domingo. He met with no better success than Mr. Lindo, of Jamaica, who has suffered so severely on a similar occasion, from want of honor in the French government*.

Mr.

* The sum for which Mr. Lindo was in advance is said to have exceeded 100,000*l.* sterling. The refusal

Mr. K——, upon learning at Bordeaux how the French government were in such cases wont to act, relinquished every idea of proceeding to Paris, to throw away, as he said, good money after bad ; and determined to return immediately to America. He asked me, as I knew Paris, how I thought he should proceed. To which I answered by stating a fact I had heard respecting an Imperial vessel of considerable value, that had been detained illegally by the French, about the conclusion of the war. The owners, after having, in vain, tried every ordinary means of procuring redress, promised to relinquish a great proportion (one third or a half) of her value, if Lucien Bonaparte would use his influence for the release of the remainder : “ If the amount of your debt be considerable enough, I would

to liquidate it occasioned his stopping payment. It is now said that the French government, having been persuaded to see the bad effects of their unprincipled conduct, have consented to pay the bills drawn on them from St. Domingo in favour of Mr. Lindo. But for this I do not vouch.

advise

advise you to adopt the same principle, as the only one by which you have at present a chance of obtaining justice in France: if not, your best plan is, perhaps, to relinquish entirely the pursuit." See Note (*d*).

THE EXPENCE OF LIVING IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE COMPARED.

It is a common error, and I do not know one more common, to say that living is cheaper in France than in England, because in Paris or Bordeaux, you can dine as well for three livres (half-a-crown) as you can in London or Edinburgh for five shillings.

This indeed would be correct, if the matter was considered only as it regarded persons enjoying a certain fixed income, independent of labour: for, with an annuity of three or four hundred pounds a year, one may live nearly twice as well in France as in England. But if it be considered as it regards persons

who procure, by industry, the means of subsistence, it is quite the reverse: for, if we suppose the facility of getting money as only two to one in favour of England, while we estimate the nominal price of the articles of life as two to one in favour of France, the expence of living will, to the man of industry, be exactly the same: but as the facility of getting money is in reality more than two to one in favour of England, while the nominal price of provisions is less than two to one in favour of France, we may conclude that the man, who procures, by industry, the means of subsistence, can live better in England than in France; and, as the bulk of society are in this predicament, we may conclude that, generally speaking, England is a cheaper country than France. If for instance, the price of beef in London be fourteen pence, while in Paris it is only fourteen *sous*, which is only half the money; but the hire of a labourer in London is five shillings a day, while in Paris it is only fifty *sous*, which is less than
half

half, the price of the beef to the former is cheaper than to the latter. See Note (c).

OF TAXATION IN FRANCE.

Nor is the idea usually entertained in England, with respect to taxation in France, less erroneous. I will venture to affirm that if a fair comparison were made of the taxes in both countries, and of the means of paying them, the estimate would be considerably in favour of England*. It is very common with travellers, in the accounts which they hear and repeat, to consider only the actual sums paid, whether in taxes

* “ Every landholder in France, in consequence of a law passed in one of the most violent moments of the revolution, and which is still continued, pays one fourth of his real revenue to the state; and, as in particular parts of the country the rate has been unfairly made, it happens, in some cases, that even a half is paid instead of a fourth. The latter is the *minimum* of the present taxation.”—*Lemaître's Rough Sketch of Modern Paris*, p. 56.

or living, without any regard to the relative facilities of procuring these sums in different countries. See Note (*f*).

The only mode of judging fairly of the weight of taxes in France, is to go to the offices where they are paid. There one hears the execrations of the people constantly poured forth against the government; and he will afterwards judge less favourably than English travellers in general have done, respecting French taxation. There he will see the tax-gatherers exercise an arbitrary and undefined authority, as in almost every other department of the state. There being no collection of the laws or statutes, which regulate these matters, no individual can know exactly what he has to pay. Of the vast variety of laws which have been passed on every subject since the revolution, the government and their agents take whichever best suit the purposes of the moment as their guide. It is impossible for the mass of the people to know

know which of these laws, so frequently contradictory, are or ought to be esteemed in force ; they are therefore obliged to take the interpretations of the agents of the government, rather than enter into endless dispute. This is particularly the case with respect to taxation. The tax-gatherer sends in his account to each individual in his district ; and if the amount be not paid into his office at a specified time, soldiers are billeted, without ceremony, in the houses of the disobedient. Should they have doubts respecting the justice of the account, to what documents can they refer for information ? To examine and compare all the decrees which have at any time been passed on the subject, would be a task too Herculean for any man who has got occupation to employ his time. To get counsel from a lawyer is expensive ; and where the law is so arbitrary and uncertain, would not be of much use. The people therefore, though they cannot help perceiving this abuse, and murmuring, never think of opposing resistance

ance but in cases of very glaring overcharges.

I recollect a striking instance of the dexterity with which the agents of the French government, by selecting, from their vast mass of heterogeneous decrees, those which suit their immediate purposes, set themselves above both law and justice. A friend of mine accompanied the widow of an officer of the navy to the marine office. Having often *petitioned* in vain for a pension, she wished to ascertain how far she had a right to *demand* one. She went, accompanied by my friend, to one of the principal clerks, whom she supposed to be well disposed to serve her, and requested that he would have the goodness to let her know what was the law respecting pensions to officers' widows. He was very civil, pretended to be extremely desirous to oblige, was sorry that he could not himself inform her, but if she would be pleased to sit down, he would go to one of the other offices to ascertain the particulars.

particulars. Upon his return he said the law was that none but the widows of officers who had served *twenty-one years* were entitled to pensions. “ I am much obliged to you, Sir, for your information,” said the lady ; “ excuse me, however, for saying that it appears to me rather strange that such should be considered the law in a republic, which has only existed for *twelve years*.” We take the law as it existed before the revolution, Madam. “ That is undoubtedly very convenient for you on this occasion, Sir ; and if my husband had served twenty-one years, I am persuaded you would with equal ease have found another decree to suit that case. I wish you good morning.”

NAPPER TANDY

Had lived, for some time, in a kind of exile at Bordeaux. He was not permitted to go to Paris ; but for what reason I have not been able to learn. Shortly after his death,
a lady,

a lady, resident in Bordeaux, wrote to a friend in Ireland, adding in a postscript to her letter: " Napper Tandy, thank God, is dead." An officer of police, who it seems had perused the letter, indignant at this remark, returned it to the writer with a second postscript at the bottom: " Napper Tandy, Madam, is *not* dead."

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

The fate of this unfortunate, but comparatively virtuous, usurper, is not certainly known. It was reported in Paris, many months ago, that he had fallen a victim to the tyranny of his more powerful brother usurper, and died in prison. I heard at Bordeaux, on the contrary, that he is still living. Two things respecting him are, however, certain. 1st. The public are totally ignorant whether he be dead or alive. 2dly. If he be alive, they are equally ignorant of the place of his confinement.

What

What a glorious country to reside in, where one cannot know the fate of his fellow-citizens!!!

The blacks of St. Domingo are more generous and civilized.

PRIVATEERING.

It is in Bordeaux river that most of the privateers, which infest the commerce of this country, are fitted out. As we have seldom any cruizers in that quarter, they can easily get to sea. But afterwards they are obliged to take shelter with their prizes in neutral ports. The crews of these privateers are, very often, principally composed of the seamen of neutral nations. While I was at Bordeaux, the Bellona privateer sailed from a port on the confines of Spain, having between forty and fifty American seamen on board. An American, who was coming from the same port with his ship,
and

and was much in want of hands, had great difficulty in prevailing on the captain of the *Bellona* to spare him three of his countrymen to navigate his ship. If all persons of this description, taken in arms, were to be hanged as pirates, it would be nothing more than the fate they merit. But it would be much better that the envoys, consuls, or other agents of neutral powers, should do their duty, by making such representations to the French government as would prevent the captains of French privateers from thus deluding the sailors of neutral states into the perpetration of piracy.

PRESSING OF SEAMEN.

In December a very general press of seamen, and I believe for the first time, took place throughout France. The mode they adopt is much more complete in its operation than ours. The name of every seaman is registered in the *commune* to
 which

which he belongs. He receives an order to repair to a certain place of rendezvous, and, if he does not make his appearance by the specified time, some soldiers are billeted with his family until he is forthcoming. Thus it is impossible for a man to elude the service but by ruining his family. After collecting together all the seamen in France, however, I doubt much whether they will be able to man thirty ships of the line.

At Bordeaux the press had been so completely carried into execution that the mails have been laying for hours at the ferry of Cubzac for want of boatmen to carry them over. The merchants could not even get hands to convey goods on board their vessels. In short, the measure has occasioned much distress and dissatisfaction throughout the country.

IRISH EMIGRANTS.

Ireland being the destination which the French government were willing should be attributed to their armaments, they very early offered commissions to the Irish emigrants at Paris to serve in their armies. But these unfortunate men nobly refused to fight against their country; and it is no common sacrifice for men, who are for the most part barely supplied with the means of subsistence, to refuse employment. It is, I have understood at Bordeaux, believed by many of them that Bonaparte had offered to the English government to give them all up, provided they would act a similar part by the Bourbon family and the French emigrants in England; but that the offer was refused with indignation. That so infamous a proposition may have been made I have no hesitation in believing, from what I know to be the character of the usurper.

usurper. I solemnly believe that there is no action so atrocious that he would not commit, in order to gain his ends. See Note (g).

BERTRAND BARRERE.

A short time after my arrival at Bordeaux, my curiosity was strongly excited by seeing the name of *Bertrand Barrere* figuring at the head of a new journal. It was entitled, *Memoires Ante-Britanniques*.

Among the cameleons of the revolution, none has played a more conspicuous or less reputable part, with perhaps the exception of Ræderer. When the Brissotine party were in power, he was a kind of tolerated adherent. Having, upon their approaching fall, attached himself to the jacobins, he wished to abandon Robespierre, when it came to his turn to be destroyed, and to take refuge in the arms of the successful party. He was, however, by this time, too

much loaded with the popular execration for them to receive him.

But they did not wish to take away his life. Condemned to transportation with *Collot D'Herbois* and *Billared-Varennes*, his exile was commuted into imprisonment, which continued till the accession of Bonaparte to supreme authority in France. That he is again come forth to figure on the public stage is certainly ominous, as there was never a party, whom he served during the revolution, that he did not ultimately either abandon or betray. Following instinctively the fortunes of whoever has got the power in their hands, he may not unaptly be termed *the official grand trumpeter of despotism*.

Bonaparte, upon his assumption of the reins of government, at first contented himself with only liberating Barrere from prison, as was then supposed merely from compassion. But the arch Corsican probably

bably never did a good action (if this can be supposed a good one) without some selfish motive. He knows how to employ the talents of men, in order to promote his own purposes. He knew that, as a smuggler makes a good custom-house officer, Barrere would make a good censor of the press. To the general astonishment of the community, he was appointed a kind of censor of the Parisian journals: and, as conductor of the *Memoires Ante-Britanniques*, he is now promoted to the office of censor-general of the British nation.

In his new capacity, from the numbers of that journal I have had an opportunity of perusing, he does not appear by any means to excel. Nay, he falls greatly short of the expectations the public were naturally led to conceive from the talents he had manifested on former occasions. With respect to sound reasoning, we cannot upon such a subject expect any; but he even

falls woefully short of his own former eloquence of declamation.

Whether this may arise from a diminution of intellectual vigor, or from his standing upon more untenable ground than formerly, or perhaps from both, I will not, for my own part, pretend to decide. But as the enthusiasm, which then rendered the French people capable of being excited even to phrenzy against the English nation, is now, I may say, entirely worn off, it would seem as if the present post of citizen Barrere is at least very ill chosen, if it be not entirely a forlorn hope.

OPINIONS IN FRANCE, RESPECTING THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Some time before the re-commencement of hostilities, the idea of the invasion of England was very familiar to the coffee-house

house politicians of Paris, and even to people of all descriptions in France. It was for the most part very favourably viewed. The French had a confused notion that, as they had crossed the Alps, and, according to their own journals and dispatches, performed so many wonders, they could cross the Channel, and easily vanquish England. This notion, although not quite general, extended, however, much beyond the mass of the people. Conversing on this subject with a young man of much ingenuity and erudition, who had been in Egypt, he observed: " But supposing a hundred thousand men land on one point, what would be the consequence?" The consequence would be, I replied, that not a man of them would probably ever return. " But you are not Romans," added he. No, but we are *more* than Romans, *because we are more free*. " Your senators," continued he, " would not wait the enemy sitting on their curule chairs." No, but they would meet them in the field.

In effect, the exaggerated greatness of the Romans dazzles us for this reason principally, that they only have related the history of their own exploits. Had the Carthaginian narratives also come down to us, we should undoubtedly have found cause to form a very different judgment. Let us apply this reasoning to the modern French. Could they succeed in destroying the English and American presses, what prodigious heroes would they not appear to future generations? They would eclipse the glory of the Romans by so much as their modesty is less *.

* In perusing, in the *Moniteur*, the impossible actions performed by the heroes, deemed worthy of being elected members of the Legion of Honour, we are at a loss which most to admire, the delusion of those who imagine they have performed them, or the impudence of those who pass them on the public as facts. A dialogue between the members of that legion, quoting their exploits, merely as they are stated in the above celebrated official paper, would be quite as diverting as any of the tales of Monchausen,

The

The opinions of the French have now very much changed respecting the success of the invasion. They ascertain by private correspondence from Boulogne, notwithstanding the lies incessantly detailed by the Parisian journals, that no number of their boats dare to attack even a single British vessel, out of the reach of the batteries a-shore, and that, if they had even no enemy to contend with, they could not resist the force of a high sea. While I was at Bordeaux, in December, I read extracts from the English papers, in the French journals, shewing the impracticability of succeeding in the invasion. The inference, which I drew from this fact, knowing the usual policy of the French government, is that they wished, by this means, gradually to accustom the public mind to the idea of abandoning the project entirely. As this practice, however, only continued for a short time, it was possibly connected with some temporary hopes of peace entertained

tained by the First Consul, but which must soon have vanished.

To the experience of the insufficiency of their boats, we may add that the ardor inspired by novelty, a great point with Frenchmen, is now entirely worn off. We may, therefore, consider the people at large as having considerably retrograded in their expectations of success, without supposing that the project will, on that account, be the more readily abandoned by the First Consul.

PROLONGATION OF THE PERIOD ALLOWED ME FOR QUITTING THE TERRITORY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The period for which my original passport was granted being expired, before the vessel in which I was to depart was ready to sail, I had to apply to the prefecture of
the

the department for its prolongation. In the absence of Charles de Lacroix, the prefect, one of the counsellors of the prefecture took my case into his consideration ; but, before he would decide, wrote to the commissary of police to have his opinion, respecting the propriety of granting my demand.

Before any business is finally dispatched in any of the public offices of France, the person whom it concerns must lay his account to having a great many walks, which he will deem unnecessary. I had at least a dozen from the hotel to the prefecture, from the prefecture to the police office, and from the police office back to the prefecture. It would not have been surprising that, in the particular circumstances under which I was placed, they should have been cautious and dilatory. But I had observed the same practice in cases of ordinary occurrence at Paris. Is it that delay is necessary to the views of the police, or that, by such artifices,

fices, the clerks of offices endeavour to extract money from strangers?

In the course of the enquiries, which I had to make on these occasions, I found that the common people of Bordeaux knew nothing of the new names of *La Prefecture* and *Le Commissariat de Police*. When I asked my way to the former, they said:—perhaps, Sir, you mean *Le Departement*; and, when I enquired for the latter, perhaps, Sir, you mean *La Commune*. The same confusion exists respecting the streets which, in the course of the revolution, have had the honour of getting new names.

The commissary of police, *Pierre Pierre*, after several days' delay, during which he no doubt made the necessary enquiries respecting my conduct at Bordeaux, returned for answer to the prefecture: “ that he saw no reason why the prolongation required
(three

(three weeks) should not be accorded." And it was immediately granted.

I now formed the resolution, if the Hamburg vessel was not ready to sail before the end of that period, to proceed by the first opportunity to Bilboa, and from thence take a passage to England; a plan, which, had I known the facility of accomplishing it, I would have at first adopted.

DEPARTURE FROM BORDEAUX.

At length the happy period so anxiously wished for arrived, and I proceeded down the river, on Tuesday the 13th of December, in order to embark on board the brig Ceres of Hamburg, Captain J. D. Steinmetz, laying at the second pass. In stepping in the boat, a man in green uniform, with a sword by his side, very civilly accosted me: "I hope you will think of me, Sir; I have allowed your baggage to pass with-

out examination." I gave him some *sous*, and he was content.

This was one of those persons called *preposées de la douane*, or custom-house officers, with whom the wharfs at Bordeaux are constantly swarming. It is calculated that in all France there are from 120 to 140,000 of these officers. Beside preventing smuggling, and proving a source of patronage to the government, they are reputed famous for their achievements against the British cruizers, which sometimes threaten the coast. From the valiant exploits they are reported to have performed on these occasions, it seems rather surprising that none of them have been yet elected as members of the legion of honour.

In walking along the *Chartrons*, I have occasionally heard some of these *preposées de la douane* speak English too well to have been bred and born in France.

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As we proceeded down the river, I saw Captain Stevenson's vessel repairing. From the state she was in, it would probably be several weeks ; nay, as the carpenters were almost all put in requisition by the government, it might be several months before she could be got ready for sea. It was well, therefore, I had not consented to wait for her.

It was night before we reached the Ceres. Passing an American ship, just arrived in the river, which was very leaky, and had the pumps constantly at work to keep her from sinking, we hailed to know where the Ceres lay ; " You be d—d," was the only answer we received. I thought we were already in England.

In the evening we arrived safely on board. The passengers consisted of a Scotch lady, Miss Macleod, whose father had died in the vicinity of Toulouse, having gone to France some months before for the benefit
of

of his health, two American merchants, Messrs. Beverly and O'Reilly, and myself.

On Wednesday we got under weigh, and went down the river, leaving the town of Blaye on the right hand, and Pauillac on the left. The former contains about 4000, and the latter about 1500, inhabitants. Off each place we had a new pilot. It being winter, and the weather bad, the scenery, in descending the river, was of course rather dull. About noon we came to an anchor, a necessary piece of etiquette, near the guard-ship (*la Stationnaire*), opposite to the village of Royan.

The captain went immediately on board the *Stationnaire* with one set of his ship's papers (having carefully concealed the other), and the passengers' passports. He appeared in great tribulation, and we observed him on the way hail another vessel, the captain of which he knew, to enquire how he had been treated. On seeing him
soon

soon afterwards return with a countenance tolerably serene, and without being accompanied by any person from the guard-ship, we concluded that every thing had passed to his satisfaction. But on coming upon deck he assumed a serious air, and, turning to me, said it was ordered that I should accompany him on board the *Stationnaire*. "Come along; I am ready to attend you instantly, captain:" and was going to step into the boat. "No! no! never mind, I was only yoking," said the captain, his features relaxing into a smile.

The situation of this guard-ship, it appears to me, is such that she might be easily cut out by any of our frigates, was it worth the while to make the attempt. It may be objected that the wind, which is fair for going into the river, is contrary for coming out; and that a ship would run a great chance of being taken, after having achieved the enterprize. But where are the

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batteries

batteries or naval force that could be brought against her ?

We here got a new pilot on board, from one of the Royan boats, whose office is denoted by red sails and numbers ; he was to take us out to sea. But the weather being bad and the wind contrary, it was several days before he could effect that purpose ; and we passed a very irksome interval. On Thursday a boat was perceived coming from the *Stationnaire*, apparently steering toward us. The captain, in a terrible bustle, began to stow away his papers in his breeches. He broke out into a cold sweat. “ My Cot, how baat I am,” said he, “ I cannot draw my breath. Doctor, be so goot to feel my pulse.” It was scarcely perceptible ; and his extremities were absolutely cold. You must take a glass of Coniac, captain. “ I tink it vill do me goot.” After repeating the dose : “ I will now go pon deck, and see vhat dis fellow vants.”

vants." The guard-boat was by this time past us steering for another vessel.

From Wednesday to Sunday morning, we were forced to lay at anchor, owing to contrary and strong winds. The wind becoming fair, we proceeded to sea at daylight on Sunday the 18th of December, in company with several other vessels. I could not help imagining, but perhaps it was only imagination, that the pilots of *La Gironde* have not the same intrepidity with those of our own country. With a moderate portion of that article, I am persuaded we might have proceeded on our voyage almost on any day between Wednesday and Sunday.

By eight o'clock we were at sea; and the pilot quitted us. On leaving the mouth of the river, we had an extensive prospect of the low and straight coast of Medoc. But what proved most gratifying to my mind was to behold the tower of the Cor-

dovan light-house * sensibly receding from the view. I imagined the French republic to be there concentrated, and that I was in a few hours to lose sight of it, perhaps for ever. I remember similar sensations to have been excited by the gradual disappearance of the church steeple of Batavia, in the East Indies, and of the top of Ladder-hill, on the island of Saint Helena, after having suffered a disagreeable and unexpected detention at each of these places.

In the course of the day, we lost sight of the light-house and of the land; and I devoutly returned thanks to the plague for

* This tower, built upon rocks at the entrance of the river Gironde, is said to be 150 or 160 feet high. The great lantern is estimated at 15. From two to three hundred pounds of pit-coal are said to be consumed there every night. The watch is relieved once a fortnight. But they generally lay in a month's provisions, because boats can only approach the rocks upon which the tower is built, when the sea is smooth.

having

having enabled me to quit the territories of the French republic.

Of several vessels which were in company, ours was rather the best sailer. The captain, emulous of appearing to carry sail like an Englishman, hoisted steering sails, although they did not prove of much service, and were obliged to be shortly afterwards hauled down. The following morning, none of our consorts were in sight. One of them, a schooner, was bound to Guernsey, and had English passengers on board.

This was the first time, and I hope it will be the last, of my sailing in any other than an English vessel. With respect to eating, I must do the captain the justice to say that, according to his own ideas of good living, he was assiduous to please: and we were only unfortunate that our taste in cookery, and wines, were not exactly the same with

his, which, if less refined, was certainly more convenient.

On board of German vessels, a practice, which, together with most others in the art of navigation, they seem to have adopted from the Dutch, the log is hove only once in four hours; and they laugh at the ignorance of the English in being obliged to heave it every hour. As to the lead, it was never once thought of during the passage. Indeed, considering the imperfect manner in which the reckoning of small ships is usually kept, it has often surprised me how frequently they blunder safe into port.

On the evening of the second day, as we were approaching Brest, I was very anxious to meet with English cruizers. But so was not the captain. " They are baat fellows," he said, " who take every ting, and give noting." He then recounted several anecdotes respecting officers of English men of war,

war, who visited German vessels, some of which were absurd, and some truly laughable. He dreaded the meeting with a British frigate, as much as he did the expected visit from the *Stationnaire*.

At day light in the morning of Tuesday, we made Ushant light-house, distant five or six leagues. The weather was fine, and the wind fair. On Thursday evening we made the Shingle lights. The two following nights it blew very fresh, but moderated in the day time. On Saturday morning, without meeting with any particular occurrence, or even seeing any vessels until we passed Beachy-head, we cast anchor in the Downs. My joy at landing upon Deal beach was so great, that I could have prostrated myself to embrace the genuine soil of freedom, had I not recollected that it would have been too egregious an instance of imitation.

On landing at Deal, we went, at the recommendation of a fellow-passenger, who had frequently travelled that way, to the Hoop and Griffin Inn. Here we sat down to a breakfast certainly much more comfortable than any we had enjoyed since we left Bordeaux. Before we got up from table, we were visited by a custom-house officer, who, after making some wry faces, declared that, having come ashore contrary to an express regulation, we must return on board, and proceed with the vessel to Gravesend.

In reply I observed that being a British subject, and not knowing any law by which I could, as such, be prohibited from landing in any part of the British dominions, I must decline complying with his request of returning on board. But as I would not willingly infringe on any regulation it might have been thought necessary at this moment to make, and as the intention of
such

such regulation, as that which he said existed, could be only to prevent the landing of improper persons, I was very willing to comply with the spirit of it, by remaining in his custody until satisfactory information respecting me could be obtained from London : in fine, that I was willing to submit to any thing reasonable he might require ; but that nothing short of absolute compulsion could make me put my foot again on board a ship.

He requested I would shew the custom-master, or commissioner of the customs, I am not sure which, what papers I had with me. I brought him a medical and surgical diploma, the one in Latin, and the other in English. He perused them both with apparent attention ; said they seemed to be regular, and that I might proceed.

JOURNEY FROM DEAL TO LONDON.

Having bid adieu to our shipmates, who went by Dover, I set out at three o'clock P. M. in the diligence for London, accompanied by the German captain. He resolved to come to town by land, in order to get a permit for his vessel to proceed up the river. I was desirous of observing the effects of English scenery on the mind of the young German, who seemed to be strongly tinctured with admiration of the power of France, and a partiality for the French people*.

* This is too common a feeling in Germany, particularly among the lower orders of the people, and where the French have not yet had an opportunity of paying fraternal visits. The Hanoverians, before the invasion of their country, were strongly inclined toward the French cause; but they are, no doubt, ere this, still more strongly inclined in the opposite direction.

In

In conversing with him on the road, I compared every object we passed with objects of the same kind, which he had seen in France or Germany. But being extremely tenacious of his consistency, it was with reluctance he would confess the superiority of any thing that was English. I do not recollect a single instance of his frankly acknowledging this superiority but on one occasion. The horses, he allowed, are better than those of France.

It was Sunday morning when we entered London; the road was crowded with carriages, and people on horseback. "Captain," said I, "you would not, in the neighbourhood of Paris, see, *in a whole year*, so many carriages and horses as have passed us this morning." He asserted he could see as many in a month. The truth, I believe, might lie between.

On our entrance into the city, I consigned the captain to a hackney-coach,
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in order to be deposited in a German tavern at Wapping, of which he had the address, and proceeded to my brother's in Basinghall-street.

A P P E N D I X:

THE INVASION OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE PROBABLE AUXILIARY PLANS OF BONAPARTE, CONSIDERED.

IT seems to be the opinion of many that the intention of Bonaparte is not to attempt the invasion of this country; but to endeavour to exhaust our resources and our patience, by keeping us constantly in a state of preparation and alarm. This opinion seems to me to be no less erroneous than it is dangerous to entertain.

The First Consul of France, whatever he may declare in his official bulletins, to his unfortunate subjects, cannot be so ignorant
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of the comparative resources of the two countries, and the characters of the two people, as seriously to expect success from protracting the contest. He cannot but know that, by a prolongation of hostilities, both the resources and the patience of the people of France would be exhausted before those of the people of England. The almost immediate consequence of such a state of things to France, he must be sensible, would be the total ruin of what still remains to her of manufactures and of commerce, together with the consequent annihilation of almost the very elements of her naval power. How can there be navigation, where there is no commerce? How can there be seamen, where ships cannot go out of port?

But there is another consideration which is of infinitely more importance with Bonaparte than the manufactures, the commerce, the navigation, or even the very existence of France ;—his personal glory is at

stake. He stands committed in the face of Europe ; and he must conquer England, or fall in the attempt.

It seems, therefore, a matter of as great certainty as human affairs can admit, that the invasion of this country will be attempted as soon as the preparations are deemed in sufficient forwardness to afford a possibility of success. And as every man, deserving the name of Briton, has no doubt determined, in his own mind, that HE shall not survive the disgrace of subjugation, it seems equally certain that the attempt will be promptly and most gloriously defeated ; a defeat by which the despot, who conducts the wicked enterprize, will be overwhelmed in irretrievable ruin.

The only questions, then, that can arise, on this subject, are these : at what period, and with what force, will the invasion of England be attempted to be carried into execution ?

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We know that the period originally fixed upon by the advice of Admiral Bougainville, and other naval officers of experience, who were consulted on the occasion, was immediately after the winter solstice; that is between the 22d of December and the 15th of January. But the obstacles that have occurred to the completion of the preparatives for the expedition have been much greater than was at first foreseen. The building of boats, the raising of funds, have experienced delays; and the flotillas have been constantly retarded in their route by the vigilance and activity of our cruizers: so that of the two thousand vessels, originally destined to rendezvous at Boulogne, not much more than the half have yet arrived; and it is not very likely that the force, deemed necessary for the success of the enterprise, has, since the commencement of the war, diminished in the estimation of Bonaparte.

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The general opinion, if there can be said to be any general opinion in France, and probably the advice of nautical men, pointed to the middle of spring as the proper period of embarking, provided it could not be done, according to the first plan, during the winter solstice. But those, who know how little Bonaparte regards either the one or the other, will not be disposed to allow them much weight. The most probable conclusion is that, without regard to any particular period, the expedition will set out at whatever time the First Consul thinks his preparations are of sufficient magnitude to give him any prospect of a possibility of success: and were I to name a period, I would say, considering the obstacles we are able to throw in his way, it could not be before the end of March, or the beginning of April. But, as the tyrant of France is an enemy who never sleeps, it behoves the people of this country not to relax for a moment in their glorious efforts for repelling the audacious foe; efforts which

have raised the admiration of Europe, and will command the gratitude of posterity.

While in this great contest, our glorious island will remain impregnable by the valour and the energies of a population of freemen, it will be incumbent on us to watch with a vigilant eye over the safety of the weaker members of the commonwealth of Europe, as well as of our own distant and subordinate possessions. We should be aware that, while Bonaparte will not relinquish his project of endeavouring to strike the tree at the root, he will also watch every opportunity of injuring or lopping off some of its most prolific branches : and this, as it must be attended with less danger, he may very naturally be supposed to prefer.

We know with what reluctance Bonaparte will measure his force, *corps a corps*, with that of Great Britain. It has not escaped our recollection that, in order to avoid the alternative of visiting this dread island,

island, when appointed by the Executive Directory, commander in chief of that army ostentatiously denominated the Army of England, he contrived to get himself sent to commit an outrageous violation on the laws of nations in the invasion of Egypt. In pursuance of the same principle, and with a view to affect the commerce and the power of Great Britain, it is not an improbable conjecture that he is, at this moment, meditating an expedition, by sea, from Holland to Denmark, with the intent of shutting the Sound against the commerce of this country, and preparing, at the same time, a diversion against our Asiatic colonies, directly by the first fleet he can slip out from Brest or Toulon, or indirectly through the dominions of the Ottoman Porte. These may be considered as auxiliary plans; but which may, according to circumstances, be converted into principal ones.

It will, probably, be objected that both these plans are of too romantic a nature,

and too palpable a violation of the rights of nations, to enter into the designs of the First Consul. But with respect to the former, I reply that it would only prove an additional recommendation to Bonaparte; and as to the latter, would the person, who attacked Egypt, when at profound peace with the Ottoman Porte, scruple to invade Denmark, without any previous quarrel with that country?

The invasion of Egypt; the subjugation of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy; the reduction of Spain and Portugal to the condition of tributary vassals; the degradation of the Germanic empire by the act of mediation, and the invasion of Hanover; the mortgage of that latter country; and the forced loans levied, with an unparalleled sublimity of impudence, on the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, after the most solemn promises of respect for their neutrality and independence; these, I say, are traits, which ought to convince
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the most incredulous that Bonaparte's mind is completely exempt from every vulgar scruple, of which the observance has hitherto been deemed useful between individuals and between nations. After this, can we hesitate to believe that, if he thought he could thereby shut the Sound against the fleet of England, he would embrace the first opportunity of invading Denmark?

Twenty or thirty thousand men, transported from Holland to Denmark, by sea, might be able to effect this object. If necessary, the Sound being then under their command, 100,000 or 200,000 men might afterwards be sent through Holstein to join them. Here Bonaparte would be able to contend with Russia, if Russia then dared to take offence: and, while he obtained the gratification of shutting the Sound against the English, he would procure an additional depôt for feeding and cloathing his armies. A succession of them would be sent to Den-

mark to be cloathed, as happened lately with respect to Hanover.

Prudence, then, would seem to dictate to Denmark, and indeed to the other nations of Europe, either to imitate the example of England in the volunteer system, and other modes of augmenting their military force, or that of France in enforcing a military conscription. This would seem to be the only efficient mode, by which the machinations of the mischievous rulers of that restless nation can be completely frustrated.

The administration of Great Britain will no doubt, in the mean time, adopt every measure, which depends upon them, to defeat such projects. While they are prepared to defend with energy at home the palladium of the independence of Europe, they will also keep a vigilant eye upon the out-posts, particularly to the north and to the east.

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The next question to be considered is the force that will probably be employed to act against this country; and it is a matter of some consequence to be ascertained.

I have already observed that the armies of the republic, including those of Italy and Holland, have, by means of the military conscription, been augmented to between 800,000 and a million of men. Of these we shall suppose that at least 400,000 may be destined to act against England. It does not become wise or brave men either to under-rate or over-rate the dangers by which they may be threatened. Let us then suppose that of the 400,000 men destined to act against England, 100,000, or even 200,000 (the rest being destroyed in the passage), should, by a species of miracle, escape the vigilance of our fleets and cruizers, and effect a landing, either on one or several points, what would be the consequence? Would not an equal number of Englishmen be ready to oppose them, be-

fore they had got a footing in the country ? Yes ! there would be even twice, nay three times the number, if necessary. But I, in my conscience, believe, that an equal number of Englishmen, with the ardour and discipline of our volunteers, would be more than a match for their very best soldiers.

Let us examine fairly the pretensions of the French troops. We are under no necessity of denying them either bravery or discipline. But are they superior to English or Austrian soldiers ? On what occasion, I would beg to ask, have these ever been beaten by an equal number of French troops ? We know the tactics by which they were so uniformly successful, last war, on the continent. It was by an unsparing sacrifice of men ; and being constantly enabled, whether defeated or victorious, to pour in fresh forces. They were almost always greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, even when their dispatches and journals affirmed that the enemy were
double

double their force. When they had no opportunity of employing these tactics, as in Egypt against the English, we see them constantly defeated. Here then we have the grand secret of their victories, particularly those of Bonaparte, who was more fortunate, nearly in proportion as he was less scrupulous, than the other generals of France.

In the event of a body of them landing in England, it is certain that they could get no reinforcements from home: and thus the sole ground of their success, the being able constantly to out-number an enemy, is wanting. Beside that, Frenchmen know not what it is to contend with Englishmen upon English ground, we should, in such a conjuncture, have the advantage of being able constantly to out-number the enemy, and thus to put a speedy termination to the contest. If I might be allowed, on a subject on which I cannot pretend to any professional knowledge, to offer a humble suggestion,

gestion, founded on obvious physical differences, I would recommend to my countrymen, in case of the enemy being able to effect a landing, to trust to their superiority of muscular strength, and at once to charge them with bayonets and pikes, rather than lose time in platoon-firing, or the more intricate species of military evolutions. It would, with this view, be advisable to practise a good deal with these weapons. The French soldiers, at landing from their boats, could not withstand the terrible and well directed shock of a British column.

Lamenting, as sincerely as the most abstract philosopher can do, the loss of the many valuable lives that must be sacrificed in this great struggle, I cannot, however, regard the contest on our part, but as a matter of inevitable necessity, which we ought neither to shrink from nor to fear. Considering, indeed, the almost divine degree of elevation to which the spirit of the people is, at this moment, raised, stimulating
every

every individual, as it were, to contribute his utmost sum of zeal, alacrity and vigour, to the general stock of public exertion, we may look with confidence to a result no less splendid than it will be glorious for the arms of Great Britain ; a result, indeed, only proportionate to the justice of our cause.

N O T E S.

NOTE (a). Page 67.

THE retardation of improvement in Spain, I have no doubt, will be found, upon enquiry, to have been in some measure occasioned by the inland situation of its capital; while Portugal appears to have derived considerable advantages from the topographical position of Lisbon.

NOTE (b). Page 80.

Madame Perigord, formerly Madame Le Grand, is said, by some, to be an English woman, and to have been married to a Mr. Grant in the East Indies. This I mention merely as a surmise, the truth of which it would scarcely be worth while to take much trouble to ascertain.

NOTE (c). Page 237.

It seems highly probable that the French government, while they were endeavouring to deceive us by an ostentatious display of building a vast number of boats upon a small scale, in all their dock-yards which were exposed to the inspection of strangers, were preparing others of much larger dimensions, in more obscure and retired building places; and that their national
flotilla

flotilla will, therefore, be generally composed of vessels of a more formidable size than we have been led to expect. Such a stratagem, which would be impracticable in England, is, from the existing disposition of France, perfectly easy of execution in that country.

NOTE (*d*). Page 247.

This, together with many facts upon record, prove the unexampled bad faith of the present government of France. The Executive Directory, bad as they were, dared not to have been so openly unprincipled. It is a notorious fact, that arrears due to officers for the years four, five and six of the republic, are still unpaid, and will ever remain so, because, say the agents of the government, there are no funds in the treasury to answer the demands of those years; while the arrears for the period during which the consular government has existed (a subsequent one) have been ostentatiously liquidated. Were not the officers of the years four, five and six servants of the public, as well as those of eight, nine and ten? But this distinction is a species of mockery upon the understanding, to which the French people have, for some time, been accustomed.

NOTE (*e*). Page 249.

The prices of bread in England and France at this moment is as eight-pence halfpenny is to

seven-pence the quartern loaf. Beside that the French consume much more of this article, as eight-pence halfpenny can be earned more easily in England than four-pence in France, it must be evident to the meanest understanding that the price of bread at seven-pence in France is little short of double what it is at eight-pence halfpenny in England. Candles are eighteen *sous* or nine-pence *per* pound in France, and only eleven-pence in England. All these articles are therefore, upon the principles laid down, considerably cheaper in this country.

NOTE (f). Page 249.

No receipt, bill of exchange, petition, or other public paper, is good without a stamp. The ordinary value of a stamp for small sums, is seventy-five *centimes* or fifteen *sous*, equal to seven-pence halfpenny. Compare this with the same tax in England, allowing for the different capabilities of paying them in each country; and then judge which of the two people are most highly taxed.

NOTE (g). Page. 259.

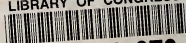
It has been mentioned in the newspapers here since my return, that many Irish officers were with the French army at Brest. But, if this be true, I am persuaded they are only composed of the most obscure individuals who have been obliged

obliged to leave that country. Those, among them, who have common sense, are heartily tired of their new connection, to which nothing could induce them to adhere but the cruel necessity of their fate.

N. B. I wish it to be understood that, when I presented the memorial alluded to in this work, respecting epidemic diseases, to the minister of the interior of the French republic, the government of that country was at peace with ours; that Bonaparte still wore the mask of pacificator, a title which he had vaingloriously assumed; and that he had not yet, by ordering himself to be elected First Consul for life, and various other acts of despotic authority, shewn the thorough criminality of his views, or betrayed the inordinate nature of his pretensions. After having had such convincing proofs of his turpitude, I should have accounted it an indelible disgrace to have had any connection, directly or indirectly, with his government, excepting for the purpose of getting beyond its tyrannical jurisdiction.

THE END.

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